C 6197 (Not 5/.)
19789 SL

MICROFILMS

REPRODUCED FROM THE COPY IN THE

HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY

FOR REFERENCE ONLY. NOT FOR REPRODUCTION

541 **Aphorismes**, Civil and Military, amplified with Authorities, and exemplified with Historie out of the First Quarterne of Fr. Guicciardine, sm. folio, *portrait back of title*, calf neat, [redacted] 1613

C 6197 (Not 5/.)
19789 SL

MICROFILMS

REPRODUCED FROM THE COPY IN THE

HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY

FOR REFERENCE ONLY. NOT FOR REPRODUCTION

541 **Aphorismes**, Civil and Military, amplified with Authorities, and exemplified with Historie out of the First Quarterne of Fr. Guicciardine, sm. folio, *portrait back of title*, calf neat, [redacted] 1613

APHORISMES

CIVILL AND MILITARIE:

Amplified with Authorities, and exemplified with Historie, out of the first Quarterne *of Fr. Guicciardine.*

LIP. DE GVICCIARD.

Prudens pexituſq́, Scriptor, & qui tales Lectores ſuos facit.

BASIL. REX, DE HIST.

Per hiſtorias veteres ire ne recuſa. Ibi enim reperies ſine labore, quæ alij cum labore collegerunt, atque illinc hauries, & bonorum virtutes, & improborum vitia: vitæ humanæ varias mutationes, & rerum in ea conuerſiones: mundi huius inſtabilitatem, & imperiorum inſtabiles caſus: Et vt verbo complectar, malorum facinorum pœnas, & bonorum præmia: quorum illa fugies, ne in diuinæ iuſtitiæ manus incidas; hæc amplecteris, vt præmijs quæ ea comitantur potiaris.



Maunſuer Armiger.

LONDON,
Imprinted for EDWARD BLOVNT.
1613.


THE HIGHE AND MIGHTY, CHARLES PRINCE OF GREAT BRITANNY &c. Ætatis suæ 13.

TO THE HIGH AND MIGHTIE, CHARLES PRINCE OF GREAT BRITANNIE, &c.

My gracious Lo. and Mr.

SIR,

ALL eyes are vpon you. Thoſe your ſweete graces of nature, and ingenuous diſpoſitions to goodnes, makes men looke vpon your worthy Brother in your princely ſelfe; holding you the true inheritor of his vertues as of his fortunes, and making full account that he had no oddes of you but in yeares. If you wil not haue them fall ſhort in their reckoning, this *Imprimis* of your hopefull beginnings, muſt be continued with many *Items* of vertuous proceedings, and cloſed vp with a *Summa-totalis* of all princely worthineſſe: So ſhall you like a great and high Steward (as you are) perfect the account you are to make, to your King and to your countrey. Hereunto Example and Pre-

cept will enable you. Examples you may haue in your owne family, and (which few Princes haue had) in your owne time. Your matchleſſe Brother for theſe ſeuen yeares to come, may take you by the hand, and leade you in the faire apprentiſage of all honour and vertue: and then your royall Father may for many and many yeares (wee hope and pray) be a liuing and liuely Mirrour vnto you of Pietie, Wiſedome, Iuſtice, Clemencie, and all other regall endowments fit for the high calling to which you are borne. As for Precepts, you may haue them from thoſe that haue worthily that place of ſeruice about you, beſides others you ſhall meete with in approoued Authors, whereof I humbly tender you this Epitome. It was your Brothers, and ſues among other his ſeruants for entertainment: hoping vnder the Impreſsion of his worthy memorie, and Stampe of your gracious fauour to paſſe currant.

Your Highneſſe

humbleſt ſeruant

DALLINGTON.

To the Reader.

I Neuer yet durſt hazard my ſhort Scantling of knowledge, to be tried by the iuſt Standart of your Iudgement, nor put thoſe few graines of mine vpon the indifferent Scales of your Cenſure, as being conſcious to my ſelfe how much they are wanting, both in weight and meaſure. Pleaſe you but remember how I long ſince diſclaimed the publication of the View of France *and* Suruay of Tuſcany, *(though I could not diſauow the things themſelues) it will make you a faire way to the truth of this my ingenuous proteſtation. But now I muſt confeſſe, the deſire I haue to make him liue ſtill in your memories, (in whoſe great hopes while he breathed all gentle ſpirits liued,) hath dulled my ſence againſt thoſe tender impreſsions, and violently driuen me, either vpon the rocke of your iuſt reproofe, or into the armes of your good fauour; I know not yet whether. Be mine the hazard, ſo his be the honour: by whoſe gracious influence euery little ſtarre in that goodly Sphære of his ſubalterne gouernement, mooued in their proper Orbe to do him ſeruice: and among theſe my ſelfe, the vnableſt of many in that Academy (for ſo was his family) had this eſpeciall employment, for his proper vſe; which he pleaſed fauourably to entertaine, and often to reade ouer. Whoſe all-promiſing vertues and all-deſerued praiſes while you ſhall ſing, I will ſigh the loſſe of all in ſorowfull ſilence, and offer you theſe his papers in his memory. The Argument is generall, wherein the publicke Miniſter may meete with his experience, the Souldier with his practiſe, the Scholler with his reading: and euery of theſe in his owne Element parallel both the Aphoriſme, Example, and Authorities. The Method is not vulgar, for though bookes of Ciuill diſcourſe be full of axiomes, Philoſophers of proofes, and Hiſtorians of inſtances; yet ſhall ye hardly meete them all combined in one couplement. Out of their legions of Authorities I haue drawne out theſe Maniples, becauſe our Maſters in the art of*

warre doe teach vs, that these are more readie for vse, vpon all sodaine occasion of seruice. I haue enter-laced them with variety of Language, to procure his better appetite for whom they were written. I was the more plentifull in Authorities, because, to reade many and great volumes few yong men haue the will, no Prince hath the leisure. It is true many of them may serue to seuerall Aphorismes, so doth the workmans Last for seuerall mens wearing, and yet neither the shooe is cut, or foote pinched: Nor are they so loose but that with Lipsius Soder you may cyment them together, and make them con-center in the maine proposition. To the Aphorismes I haue giuen some farce of illustration, which falles not necessarily in the nature of the conclusion; but this I did of purpose, to giue them better relish in the dainty palate of a Prince, and to draw him on with the variety of his viands. Some of them likewise compared together may seeme one and the same, yet is not their co-incidence so close, but that the more diligent reader may obserue a difference, either in the Roote or in the Branches, as also in the Authorities and Examples. In the Examples I haue bound my selfe to the truth of the history, but vsed my liberty for the phrase and manner of relation: because my Authors periods are ouerlong, to suite with that perspicuity which I intended. What else is to be obserued, your iudgment may discerne, whereunto I subscribe: and your fauour accept, whereupon I rely.

R. DALLINGTON.

APHO-

APHORISMES, CIVIL AND MILITARIE, AMPLIFIED WITH AVTHORITIES, AND exemplified with Hiſtorie, out of the firſt *Quarterne of Fra. Guicciardine.*

APHORISME I.

IN[1] *naturall bodies, the longer they ſubſiſt in perfect health, the more dangerous is the diſeaſe when it cometh, and the longer in curing; as hauing none of thoſe humours ſpent, which by diſtemper giue foment and force to the approaching maladie.*[2] *So it is in bodies politicke: when warre once ſeizeth vpon a countrey, rich in the plenties of a long peace, and full with the ſurfets of a continuall eaſe; it neuer leaues purging thoſe ſuperfluities, till all be waſted and conſumed.*

1 Αἱ ἐπ' ἄκρον εὐεξίαι σφάλεραι, ἢν ἔν τῷ ἐσχάτῳ ἔωσιν· οὐ γὰρ δύνανται μένειν ἔν τῷ αὐτῷ. *i. Ad ſummum boni habitus periculoſi, ſi in extremo fuerint, non enim poſſunt in eodem permanere.* Hippoc. aph. 3.

Terra quò melior, eò magis corrumpitur, vbi negligitur. Plutarch.

Nullius vini ſpecies vehementiùs aceſcit, quàm quæ ab initio habuit dulcedinem. Ariſtot.

2 *In ſe magna ruunt: lætiſq́ hunc numina rebus*
Creſcendi poſuère modum.—— Lucan. l. 1.

Quæ alia res ciuiles furores peperit, quàm nimia fælicitas? Flor. l. 3. c. 12

Opes atque diuitiæ afflixêre Seculi mores, merſamq́ vitijs ſuis quaſi ſentinâ Rempub. peſſundedêre. Ibidem.

Certis eunt cuncta temporibus, naſci debent, creſcere, extingui. Senec. Epiſt.

Più ſcende chi più ſale. Pro. Ital.

Suis & ipſa Roma viribus ruit. Horat. Epod 16.

About the yeare 1490. *Italy* the moſt glorious and goodlieſt

countrie of *Europe*, ſtood in fairer tearmes of happineſſe and proſperitie, then euer it had done ſince the firſt declination of the *Romane Empire*: ſhe had enioyed the ſweete fruites of a long peace: ſhe was not ſubiect to any command, but of naturall *Italians*: full of people and riches: many great Princes and States: many noble and faire Cities: beſides, the *Sea and Maieſtie of Religion*: many perſonages of worthie eminencie, in both the profeſſions of *Arts* and *Armes*: and in great reputation with all other *Nations*. All which faire flowers of peace were ſodainely blaſted: moſt of the gouernments changed: the people waſted: the wealth exhauſted: the cities demoliſhed: Arts and Armes decayed: Reputation loſt: and all by the heart-burning and iealowſie of her owne Princes, which ſet that noble countrie in combuſtion; and being once on fire, miniſtred ſo much fuell of her ſelfe, as in fortie yeares ſpace it could not be quenched.

APHORISME II.

AS in man (the worlds Epitome) one member hath neede of another, nor can the more noble parts execute their office and facultie without the aſſiſtance of the moſt baſe: So in that greater world, Prouidence hath ſeuerally diſpenſed her graces and bleſsings to ſeuerall countries, that ſtanding in need each of others helpe, there might be a ſociable negotiation, and friendly conſociation betweene them.[2] *Hence is it that Leagues are made betweene States, for the mutuall ſupplement and ſupport one of another. But the Colleagues haue commonly their particular ends, beſides the generall good pretended.*

Æſop.fab. 15. 1 *Hoc innuit fabula illa de membris cibum ventri detrectantibus, tanquam ocioſæ & inutili corporis parti.*

Idem.Ibid. *Mutuis officijs, mutuis operibus vtendum eſt: neque diuitiæ, neque dignitatum apices hominem ſatis tuentur: vnicum & ſummum præſidium plurium amicitia eſt.*

Nulla

Nulla Regio aut Resp. ex omni parte αὐτάρκης, *id est, sibi sufficiens.* — Arist. Pol. lib. 2.

Varium cœli prædiscere morem,
Et quid quæque ferat regio, & quid quæque recuset. — Virgil.

Nam hæc quoque mira naturæ differentia, alia alijs locis negat: tanquam genera frugum fruticumq́, sic & animalium: non nasci translatitium, inuecta emori mirum. — Plin. nat. hist lib. 10. c. 29.

2 *Suam quisque fortunam in consilio habeat, cum de aliena deliberat.* — Curt. l. 4.

Quisque suos patimur Manes — immo petimus fines. — Virgil.

Socios legi suadeam, non qui mediocri valeant potentia, & in proximo habitent. — Arist. rhet. ad Alex.

Bocchum legati monuerunt, ne florentes res suas, cum Iugurthæ perditis misceret. — Salust. Iug.

Amicitias inimicitiasq́ non ex re, sed ex commodo æstimare, magisq́ vultum quàm ingenium bonum habere. — Salust. Cat.

Le leghe sogliono rendere i Prencipi, & più forti, & più animosi: perche molte cose non può, & non ardisce da se vno, che potrà, & imprenderà, accompagnato da altri. — Rag. di Stat. lib. 8.

Diuersi sono i pensieri di diuersi huomini, & ciò che in quello caso (delle Leghe) importa più, non pur diuersi ma contrarij per lo più, & repugnanti i Consigli & le Resolutioni, con le quali si reggono i Prencipi confederati. — Paruta. Disc. 5. lib. 1.

Ferdinand King of *Naples*, with *Lodowick Zforza* Protector of his nephew *Iohn Galeazzo* yong Duke of *Millan*, and *Laurence Medici*, chiefe magistrate and citizen of *Florence*, renew the league formerly made betweene these three States, to continue yet longer inuiolable for fiue and twentie yeares. Their maine end was this, *To be able thus combined, to oppose against the Venetian greatnesse*, which seuerally and distracted, they were not able to do. They had also their particular ends, whereat they aimed: *Medici*, that he might still stand great in his cities command, and she happie in her peace. *Ferdinand*, that he might quietly and peaceably enioy that his kingdom, to which he knew the house of *France* made claime, and to whom many of his Neapolitan Nobilitie stood ouermuch affected: And *Zforza*, to maintaine and hold still that power and authoritie he held in *Millan* through vsurpation, by assuming the right, and abusing the youth and weakenesse of his nephew, the lawfull Prince and true heire of that Duchie.

APHORISME III.

WHen [1] the Ballaſt or lading is well ſtowed in the ſhippe, ſhee maketh good way, and ſaileth fairely: but being vneuenly beſtowed, it hindereth her courſe, and ſometimes ſinketh her. [2] As alſo, where is an equall temperature of the humours, there is perfect health, and a good conſtitution of the bodie: but where theſe are diſtempered, and the maligne are predominant, there the former good habite is turned to ſome deſperate diſeaſe. [3] So is it in a State, where the vicious and ambitious ſucceed in the place and authoritie, but not in the vertues and worth of their noble predeceſſors.

Boter.in Cæſ. 1 *Mentre la Carica, ſta ben compartita, il vaſcello ſolca commodiſsimamente le onde: ma ſe tutto il peſo ſcorre à vna parte, ſe ne va ſozzopra, & ſi rinuerſa.*

Gal.lib.de bon.hab. 2 *Bonus habitus optima quædam ſanitas.*

Id.ibid. *Optima corporis conſtitutio, in moderata ſimilium partium temperie conſtat, exacta diſſimilium menſura.*

Ibid. *Natura temperata ad iuſtitiam, non ad pondus: in qua quatuor qualitates ad æquilibrium miſcentur.*

Plato de leg. 3 *Cum Magnates opprimunt ſubditos, idem eſt, ac ſi caput corporis intumeſcat: vt à membris omnino, vel certè ſine magna moleſtia, ferri non poſſet.*

Seneca. *Ambitioſi priuatim degeneres, in publicum exitioſi, nihil ſpei, niſi per diſcordias habent.*

Ibidem. *Nemo eorum qui in Repub. verſantur, quos vincat, ſed à quibus vincatur, aſpicit.*

Sophocles. *Vbi in vrbe deteriora vincunt, tum peccata peſſundant Ciuitatem.*

Laurence Medici being dead, who tempered the ambitious humour of *Lodowick Zforza*, qualified the iealouſies of *Ferdinand*, pacified the indignations of *Alphonſo* Prince of *Calabria*, and kept the States of *Italy* counterpoiſed in equall ballance: and Pope *Innocent* the 8. being alſo now gone, who after a long diſpoſition to troubles, had yet at laſt, ſome yeares before his death, giuen them ouer, and labored nothing more then peace: *Peter Medici* ſucceeds in his fathers place, but not in his vertues:

a man insolently imperious in his cariages, and desperately precipitate in his deliberations. And *Roderigo Borgia* a Spaniard enters the Papacie, vnder the name of *Alexander* the 6. a man though singular in policie and maturitie of iudgement, excellent in counsell, admirable in perswasion, vnmatchable in attempting, vndergoing, and effecting great matters; yet of a most leud and abhominable life, of no faith, no religion, insatiably couetous, immoderately ambitious, barbarously cruell, and furiously enflamed with a burning desire to raise his children to temporall preferments, by warre, bloud, or what meanes soeuer. Vpon these two (a rash young man, and couetous old wretch) together with *Zforza* the third incendiarie of his countrie, lies iustly all the imputation of putting all *Italy* into such miserable garboile.

APHORISME IIII.

AS[1] in matter of publicke negotiation, a Prince ought to giue nothing in charge to his Embassador, but what may stand with his owne honor, and good of his State:[2] So in the maner of handling, he must prescribe him no vnusuall or vnheard of forme, and for which he hath no former precedent, seeme the motion propounded neuer so plausible.

1 *C'est vne vertu excellente es Magistrats, de bien entendre comme ils ont à se gouuerner, & que leur doiuent aprendre les hommes, qui ont fait excellente preuue de leur suffisance, au maniement des affaires publiques, aux perfections & fautes dequels hommes ils ont à bien prendre garde.* Amyot. in Plutarch. Phocion.

2 *I Consigli noui & inusitati, possono al primo aspetto parer forse più glorioſi, & più magnanimi, ma riescon vani.* Porcac. in Guicc.

Chi lascia la strada vecchia per la nuoua,
Spesse volte ingannato si ritruoua. Pro. Ital.

Quæ in suo statu, eademq; manent, etsi deteriora sint, tamen vtiliora sunt reip. his, quæ per innouationem vt meliora inducuntur. Dion. lib. 11.

Super omnibus negotijs, melius atque rectius olim prouisum, & quæ conuertuntur, in deterius mutantur. Tacit. Annal. l. 15.

In minimis quoque rebus, omnia antiquæ consuetudinis momenta seruanda. Valer. Max. l 2.

Thucyd.l.6. *Ii homines tutiſsimè agunt, qui præſentibus moribus legibuſq́, etiamſi deteriores ſint, minimùm variantes, remp. adminiſtrant.*

It was requiſite that *Lodowick Zforza*, according to the ancient cuſtome, ſhould ſend his Embaſſadour to *Rome*, as well as other Princes, to congratulate the new Popes aſſumption to that Sea, to kiſſe his feet, and offer his obedience. But he would needs propound to thoſe his confederates of *Florence* and *Naples*, that all their Embaſſadours ſhould enter *Rome* together; ſhould together preſent themſelues in the Conſiſtorie; and that one for all ſhould make the Oration. A forme neuer formerly vſed, yet very plauſible in appearance: for by this meanes, great reputation (as he ſuppoſed) would grow to them all: all *Italy* would take notice, that there was not onely a league and amitie betweene them, but ſuch a combination of hearts and affections, as if they were all but one Prince and one State. To this *Peter Medici* oppoſeth, holding it a blemiſh to that glorie and magnificence, wherewith himſelfe meant in perſon to enter *Rome*: the rather being hereunto perſwaded by *Gentile* Biſhop of *Arezzo*, who (as ambitious to haue the deliuery of the Oration from the Florentine State) was grieued to be foreſtalled of the meanes to ſhew his eloquence in ſo honorable a Legation. Hereupon *Zforza* growes iealous that *Medici* was ſecretly combined with the *Arragoneſe*, and a cloſe enemie to him. *Medici* diſcouers ſome diſtruſt in *Zforza*, and cooleth in his affiance of him. VVhich in the end bred to ſuch a feſtered vlcer of malice and rancor betweene them, as the core could neuer be rooted out of their hearts, till their hearts were out of their bodies, and bodies out of their States.

APHO-

APHORISME V.

IT[1] was a prudent aduice of the late French King, to his brother Henry the 3. who would needs with those ſmall forces they had, ſally out of Tours vpon the great armie of Charles Duke of Mayen: Sire (quoth he) n'hazardons pas vn double Henry contre vn Carolus. *i. Let vs not venture a double duckat to a ſingle penie. For ſuch gameſters fall to play with ouermuch confidence, and fall by play into very much loſſe.*[2] *It is therefore an ill grounded deliberation in a Prince, to engage himſelfe in an action, the ſucceſſe whereof can be but ſleight and of ſmall moment, whereas the miſcarriage may beget dangerous effects to him and his State.*

1 *Deliberandum cenſeo, res magna eſt: idq́; diù: Ne luas grauiùs ob rem leuem.* Terent. Eunuch.

Quicquid præter opinionem in bello euenire poteſt, priuſquam ingrediare conſidera. Thucyd. l. 11.

Plura in ſumma fortuna auſpicijs & conſilijs, quàm telis & manibus geruntur. Tacit. Annal l. 13.

2 *Non ſi deuono tentar quelle coſe, nelle quali il conſiglio ſia incerto, e l'vtile che poſſa ſeguirne molto dubbioſo: ne laſciarſi condurre à tale ſtato, che la neceſsità di prender altro partito, tolga il benefizio dell' elezione.* Paruta. lib. 2. diſc. 4.

Princeps, non ſpecioſa dictu, ſed vſu neceſſaria, ſequatur. Q. Curt. lib. 3.

Auguſtus dixit prælium aut bellum nunquam ſuſcipiendum, niſi quum maior emolumenti ſpes, quàm damni metus oſtenderetur. Nam minima commoda non minimo ſectantes diſcrimine, ſimiles eſſe aiebat aureo hamo piſcantibus, cuius abrupti damnum nullâ capturâ penſari poſsit. Sueton. de Aug. fol. 101.

Ferdinand King of *Naples*, encouraged *Virginio Orſini* to purchaſe certaine caſtles, and other ſeigneuries in the territorie of *Rome*, of *Franceſchetto Cibò* the Popes baſe ſonne; and lent him money to go through with the bargaine: perſwading himſelfe that the ſtronger *Orſini* was, the better it were for him, being his dependant and kinſman; and the more preiudiciall to the Church, of whoſe ſtrength and power he was iealous, becauſe of her neareneſſe to *Naples*, and pretence of title ſhe made to that State. Hereat the Pope ſtormeth, becauſe thoſe caſtles and

and lordſhips held in fee of the Church. *Lodowicke Zforza* and *Aſcanius* ſharpen him on. They complaine to the other Princes of *Italy*, of the iniuſtice of the fact and wrong offered to the Sea of *Rome*. They leuie forces for redreſſe, and breake the ſhell of thoſe troubles, which were before but in the hatching againſt *Ferdinand* and his kingdome.

APHORISME VI.

AS 1 there is no condition of life, be it neuer ſo happie, but it hath his croſſe; to ſhew vs that perfect felicitie is to be expected elſewhere. 2 So is there no Prince liuing, be he neuer ſo wiſe, but he ſometimes erreth; for it is of neceſsitie that he prooue himſelfe to be but man.

Plaut. Merc. Solon. apud Iuſt. Plutar. Fab.

1 *Cumque putant viuere, tunc ruunt maximè: Nulla vita ſua cruce caret: Nemo ante obitum, ſupremaq́ funera fælix.*

Τὸ μὲν ἁμαρτεῖν μηδὲν ἐν πραγμάσι μεγάλοις, μεῖζον ἢ κατ' ἀνθρωπόν ἐσιν. *i. Vt nihil peccemus in rebus magnis, maius eſt quam penes hominem.*

An. Pi. de Marco. Xen. Cyr. l. 8. Iac. An. l. 3. Porcac. in Guicc.

Permittite illi vt homo ſit, neque enim Philoſophia vel imperium tollit affectus.

Pauca aliqua vnus videat, vnus audiat.

Princeps ſua ſcientia non poteſt cuncta complecti.

Non ſempre gli huomini ſauij giudicano perfettamente, biſogna che ſpeſſo ſi dimoſtrino ſegni della debolezza dell' intelletto humano.

Ferdinand one of the wiſeſt Princes of his time, had procured the Popes indignation, by furthering vnderhand the purchaſe which *Orſini* had made. He had increaſed *Zforza* his feares, by hauing ſecret intelligence with *Peter Medici*. He much doubted leſt theſe two Princes ſhould ioyne in league with the State of *Venice* againſt him. All this in his wiſedome he ſaw, and might eaſily haue preuented, had he but yeelded his ſonnes baſe daughter with a competent dowrie to one of the Popes ſons: a match greatly by him deſired. Wherein he ſuffered his wiſdome to be ouerſwayed with the ſwinge of *Alphonſo* his pride and diſdain,

who

who ſcorned to condeſcend to a match of ſuch diſparitie in bloud and honour, and of ſuch diſparagement to the houſe of *Arragon*.

APHORISME VII.

WEll gouerned States admit of no alliance but vpon well grounded reaſons. No grounds of reaſon ſo firme to build ſuch contracts vpon, as thoſe that are confirmed by former examples. No examples ſo forcible as thoſe of our owne, and of theſe, the later the ſurer. Yet are we not ſo peremptorily bound to theſe, but that we may looſen our ſelues, and take a new courſe, when the new deliberation brings with it an apparent and demonſtratiue aſſurance of the publicke good and ſafetie.

1 *Exempla, fideliſsimum præcipiendi genus.*
Exempla vetera, pro documentis habenda.
Per varios caſus, Artem experientia fecit,
Exemplo monſtrante viam. —
Vſus omnium Magiſtrorum præcepta ſuperat.
Longum iter per præcepta, breue & efficax per exempla.
Pauci prudentia, honeſta à deterioribus, vtilia à noxijs diſcernunt. Plures aliorum euentis docentur.
Firmare animum expedit, conſtantibus exemplis.

Plin.l.8. Liuij l.25. Manil.l.1.

Cic.de Orat. l.1.

Sen.Epiſt.6.

Tacit.An.l.3

Tacit.An. l.16.

2 *Vn grand Politique, doit auoir non moins de memoire pour retenir & marquer vne infinité des choſes paſsées, que de bon iugement, pour les appliquer à leur droit vſage.*

Amiot.in Plut. Cic.

Io guardo & oſſeruo, tutti i detti & fatti d' Auguſto, non altrimente che vna legge.

Tacit. de Tiber.hiſt.l.4.

A reſolution is taken by *Alexander* the 6. and *Lodowicke Zforza*, to breake with *Ferdinand* of *Naples*, and *Peter Medici*, and to enter a new league with the *Venetians*, againſt them both. The ouuerture and offer hereof is made to this State. She liketh well of their diſunion, but makes ſcruple to enter the league. Her reaſon: ſhe ſuſpects double dealing in the Pope, who grew daily leſſe truſted of all men: but eſpecially the remembrance of thoſe leagues which ſhe had formerly made with *Sixtus* and *In-*

nocentius, withhold her. For from the one ſhe had receiued much trouble and litle good. And *Sixtus* (when her warres were at the hoteſt with the Duke of *Ferrara*, to which himſelfe had incited her) not onely combined with other Princes of *Italy* againſt her, but proſecuted her alſo with *ſpirituall armes*. Yet vpon mature deliberation, that by this offer entertained and accepted, that bond ſhould be broken, which was knit at firſt by her enemies, *to impeach her greatneſſe*: ſhe treates vpon the conditions, and enters the league.

APHORISME VIII.

IEalouſie[1] *in State, like that in loue, hath a double paßion, of feare and hate.*[2] *This cauſeth the patient to thinke all remedies too weake for the danger; and to apply more violent Phyſicke then either the qualitie of the diſeaſe, or complexion of the diſeaſed can ſuſtaine.*[3] *Then which nothing is more pernicious either in bodies or States.*

Ouid.epiſt. 1 *Res eſt ſolliciti plena timoris amor.*

Saluſt.Iug. *Ingenia Regum, prona ad formidinem.*

Dubia pro certis, ſolent timere Reges.

Tacit.An.15. *Principes æmuli, & ſuapte natura, potentiæ anxij.*

Sen.Oed. *Qui Sceptra duro ſæuius imperio regit,*
Timet timentes: Metus in authorem redit.

Lucan.l.2. 2 *Exceſsit medicina modum, nimiumq; ſequutæ*
Quâ morbi duxêre manus. —

Sen.de ira. *Nihil magis periculoſum in morbis, quàm immatura & violenta remedia.*

Tacit.An.12. *Intempeſtiua remedia, delicta accendunt.*

Liuij lib.12. *Scio Medicos plus interdum quietem, quàm mouendo atque agendo proficere.*

Guicc.l.8. *Speſſo accade ne' corpi pieni d' humori corrotti, ch' vn rimedio vſato per proueder al diſordine d' vna parte, ne genera de più pernizioſi, & di maggior pericolo.*

Ammir.in Tacit.l.3. *Se il rimedio non è baſtante, non guariſce l' infermita: ſe è molto gagliardo, non che il male vccide, anche la perſona in cui è il male.*

Por.in Guic. l.8. *E' troppo nociuo, il prendere vna volta tanto cibo, che lo ſtomacho non ſia potente*

teste à comportarlo.

3 *Se tu non hai forza da preuenire, & d' offendere l' auuersario, resta il concitargli adosso, qualche potente nemico: ma che ben tu ti guardi, che non si peggiori lo Stato: come auuenne à Lodouico il Moro, che per assicurarsi da gl' Aragonesi, si fece preda de' Francesi.* Rag. Stat. l. 6.

Par inconsideré & temerair conseil, on entreprend beaucoup de mauuais actz: dont s'ensuiuent des desordres, ausquels on ne peut apres remedier. Amyot. in Plut. Anton.

Lodowicke Zforza had broke all bonds of friendship with his ancient allies of *Naples* and *Florence*. He had knit a new knot with the Church and *Venice*: these new friends he knew had diuers ends to his; and therefore durst not trust them, doubting lest when their owne turnes were serued, the foundation of this late alliance would be sore shaken, if not vtterly fall. Hereupon he resolues and effects the calling in of the *French* nation: pulling in more with one finger, then he could after thrust out with both his shoulders; to the generall disturbance of the peace of *Italy*, and to his owne proper ruine, and vtter destruction.

APHORISME IX.

THe[1] *Panther carries with him a sweet sent, but an vgly face; that enticeth beasts after him, this affrighteth them: therefore he hides his head, till he haue the prey within danger.*[2] *So is the sauour of soueraigntie very sweet, but the vgly face of those meanes by which it is gotten, men see not, and so runne into the toile, and perish in the pursuite.*[3] *For being once embarqued in so bad a cause, the farther they wade, the deeper they are drowned in the whirlpoole of their owne errours: the more they weaue in the loome of such deceitfull plots, the faster they are ensnared in the trap deuised for others.*

1 *Ferunt Pantherarum odore mirè sollicitari quadrupedes cunctas: sed capitis toruitate terreri. Quamobrem occultato eo, reliqua dulcedine inuitatas, corripiunt.* Plin. nat. hist. lib. 8. cap. 17.

Non sabe la volpeia, con quien trobeia. Pro. Hisp.

2 *Id in Seiano, Vindice, Hippatio, Theophobo: in Mario quoque, Pompeio, Cæſare, Sylla, Cinna, & alijs plurimis liquet ex hiſtoria.*

Tacit. hiſt. 2. *Vetus, ac pridè inſita mortalibus, potentiæ cupido, omnibus affectibus flagrantior.*

Cic. Cat. 2. *Ambitioſi, honores quos quieta Rep. deſperant, perturbata conſequi ſe poſſe arbitrantur.*

Claud. 2. Ruff. *Ne quis nimiùm ſublata ſecundis colla gerat:*
Quid Craſſos, quid Pompeios euertit, & illum
Ad ſua qui domitos deduxit flagra Quirites?
Summus nempe locus, nulla non arte petitus,
Magnaq; Numinibus vota exaudita malignis.

Liuij l. 14. *Humanus animus inſatiabilis eſt eo, quod fortuna ſpondet, & ad altiora, & non conceſſa tendit.*

Tacit. Agric. *Quos non Oriens, non Occidens ſatiauerit.*

Sal. de Catil. *Vaſtus animus immoderata, incredibilia, nimis alta ſemper cupiebat.*

Senec. ep. *Habet hoc vitium omnis ambitio, non reſpicit.*

Sen. Oed. 3 *Quicquid exceſsit modum, pendet inſtabili loco.*

Virg. *Incidit in Scyllam, qui vult vitare Charybdim.*

Pro. Gal. *Tomber de Fieure, en chaud mal.*

Amyot. in Plut. Cat. *Ambition, non conſeille bien ſon Eſclaue.*

Zforza had abuſed the weakneſſe of his nephew *Iohn Galeazzo*, (true Duke of *Millan*) and the power of his owne Protectorſhip: to the diſhonor of his maſter, and vexation of his countrie. VVhat he had gotten by proximitie of bleud, he intended to hold by dexteritie of wit and policie. The guilt of this fact, made him ſuſpect all: but none more then the King of *Naples*, into whoſe houſe his nephew was matched. To this effect he inſinuates with *Peter Medici*, puts him in mind how capitall enemies they of *Aragon* had bene to the Florentine State: who notwithſtanding was ſo farre from inclining to his part, as he ſtucke ſo much the faſter to the other. He then labours the Pope to warre vpon him, as ſucceſſor to thoſe Princes, who euer ſince *Frederick Barbaroſſa* his time, had ſtood ill affected to the Sea of *Rome*. But the Pope entertained his hopes no longer, then till he had made vſe of his friendſhip, and after leaues *Lodowick* in the laſh. This ſtring being broken, he combines with *Venice*, who had alſo her proper end; and beſides, by her power and neighbourhood was ableſt and readieſt to offend him, as afterwards appeared. And laſtly, for a concluſion of his vtmoſt craft and policie, which indeed

deed proued the originall of all his future trouble and finall calamitie, he vnaduisedly cals in the French King, vnder pretext of the iust title he had to the kingdome of *Naples*, from *Charles* Earle of *Prouence*: who after with his sword pleaded also his right to the Dukedome of *Millan*, and wanne it, as lawfully descended from the Dukes of *Orleans*.

APHORISME X.

THe[1] *Aspicke pursueth him that hath hurt or killed his mate, and knowes him among a multitude: him he still hunteth, and layeth for his life, and breaketh through all difficulties and dangers to come at him.*[2] *So doth the malicious and reuengefull. For all vnbridled passions in man, and vpon which reason beares not a hard hand, are impetuous; but that of ambition is impetuously furious, and (when ioyned with reuengefull disdaine) furiously outragious.*[3] *Iniustice is the minister of disdaine, and reuenge is the executioner of iniustice.*

1 *Coniuga fere vagantur: nec nisi cum compare vita est: itaque alterutra interempta, incredibilis alteri vltionis cura. Persequitur interfectorem, vnumq; eum, in quantolibet populi agmine, notitia quadam infestat: perrumpit omnes difficultates, &c.* Plin. nat. hist. l. 8. cap. 23.

2 *Colit hic Reges, calcet vt omnes,*
Perdatq; aliquos, nullumq; leuet:
Tantum vt noceat, cupit esse potens. Senec. Herc. Oet.

3 *Pertinax honoris cupiditas, multas sæpius edidit strages.* Am. Marcel. l. 17.

Quis tot referre facinorum formas potest
Regnum petentis, per gradum scelerum omnium? Sen. Oct.

Parcite o Dites, inhibete dextras,
Laudis est, purum tenuisse ferrum. Senec. Oed.

Alle sceleratezze, suole condur gli huomini, la sete pestifera del dominare, & lo sdegno. Por. in Guic.

Il n'y a sorte de meschanceté, tant detestable soit elle, que l'ambition ne commette, pour satisfaire à ses desseins. Amyot. in Plut. Agis.

Pope *Alexander* the 6. to exalt his sonnes the Duke of *Candy*

and *Cæsar Borgia* to temporall States: and to be reuenged vpon *Ferdinand* King of Naples, and *Alphonso* his son, for their scornefull reiecting his offer of a match betweene a sonne of his and their daughter, ioynes now with *Zforza* in the embassage to *France*, for the inciting and aiding that King to warre vpon *Naples*: to the shedding of much Christian bloud, and spoile of the goodliest countrie in Christendome. An act in it selfe bloudie and odious, but much more in him, who by his profession and place, was the pretended *Head of the Church, and Father of peace.*

APHORISME XI.

THree things are necessary to euery worke: the workman, the tooles, and the matter. So euery matter that fals into deliberation, and is to be concluded in Councell, must haue Iustice, for the mouer and efficient: Facility, for the meanes and instrumental: and Profit, for the obiect and finall causes. Therefore in determinable cases of this nature, the Counsellor must insist vpon these three points, and proue them.

Tacit. hist. 2. *Omnes qui magnarum rerum consilia suscipiunt, æstimare debent, an quod inchoatur, Reipub. vtile, ipsis glorioſum, aut promptum effectu, aut certè non arduum sit: simul ipse qui suadet considerandus est, adijciátne consilio periculum suum.*

Leo Imp. de appar. bell. *In omnibus quæ in deliberationem veniunt, adesse hæc duo oportet: posse illud fieri, atque vtile esse.*

Por. Guicc. *La giustitia della causa, la facilita del vincere, il frutto grandissimo della vittoria: sono tutti i fondamenti, che considerarsi debbono, nel deliberar l' impresa.*

Idem testatur Cicero Offic. lib. 2. & ad Heren. lib. 3. Et Arist. Rhetor. lib. 2. c. 4. & ad Alexand. cap. 4.

Sueton. cap. 11. *Augustus, nulli Genti, sine iustis & necessarijs causis, bellum intulit.*

Charles of *Barbiano*, Earle of *Belgioioso*, Embassadour from *Alexander* the 6. and *Zforza*, to *Charles* the 8. to moue him to warre vpon *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*; proues the iustice of the action: for

for that this kingdome iuridically belonged to him by lineall deſcent from *Charles* Earle of *Prouence* and *René* Duke of *Aniou*, both of the bloud of *France*: in which houſes it had ſucceſſfully and ſucceſſiuely continued almoſt two hundred yeares. The facilitie of the enterpriſe, becauſe he was aſſured of the Churches aide, and of that of *Millan*: *Genoa* was at his deuotion: *Venice* would not expoſe her ſelfe to a certaine expence and no gaine, nor would ſhe lightly breake her ancient amitie with *France*: *Florence* durſt not: the Barons of *Naples* were generally diſcontented with the preſent gouernment, and many of them were ſtill of the *Aniouine* faction. The profit, becauſe he ſhould enlarge his Empire, enable himſelfe by the ſtrength and ſite of this kingdome (not being aboue ſeuentie miles from *Greece*) to warre vpon the *Turke*, the common enemie of Chriſtendome, and by all likelyhood beate him out of his Imperiall ſeate of *Conſtantinople*, and driue him ouer the *Helleſpont*, quite out of *Europe*.

APHORISME XII.

SO goodly a thing is vertue in it ſelfe, as euen her ſhadow, if it be in Princes, doth much good: to particular men, by imitation; and to the publicke, by participation. Wherefore, though ſimulation of what is good, and diſſimulation of what is euill, be vices in a priuate man, yet in a publicke perſon they are neceſſary euils. In whom, to be ouuert in expreſſing his nature, or free in venting his purpoſe, is a thing of dangerous conſequence.[1] *For it harmes himſelfe, and armes his enemie with preuention.*

1 *Ex omni vita, ſimulatio, diſſimulatioq; tollenda. Cic. Off. l. 2. De priuata fateor, de publica valde nego. Nunquam enim regent, qui non tegent.* Lip. pol. l4

Sanctitas, pietas, fides, priuata bona ſunt. Sen. Thyeſt.

Neſcit imperare, qui neſcit diſſmulare. Sigiſ. Imp.

Lex alia in ſolio eſt, alia priuato in thoro. Sen. Agam.

Vt ad effectum conſiliorum ſuorum veniant, multa ſimulent oportet, & diſſimulent, Cic. ep. l. 10.

mulent, cum dolore.

Cic.off.l.3. *Quod plerunque turpe haberi ſolet, turpe non erit: ſemper officio fungitur, vtilitati hominum conſulens, & ſocietati.*

Tacit.Agric. *Eruditus vtilia honeſtis miſcere.*

Arioſt.cant. 4. *Quantunque ſimular, ſia le più volte*
Ripreſo, & dia di mala mente indizij:
Si troua pùr in molte coſe e molte,
Hauer fatto euidenti benefizij.

Greg. Sen. Med. 2 *Malum ſub lingua, non in lingua habens.*

Tacit. hiſt.3. *Profeſſa perdunt odia vindictæ locum.*
Simplicitas ac liberalitas, ni adſit modus, in exitium vertuntur.

Ferdinand was a Prince, in whom the ſemblance of vertue, friendſhip, and other good things were very familiar, as alſo the diſſemblance of hate or diſpleaſure which he bare towards any of his neighbour Princes. This made him more wary of giuing offence, or ſeeming offended, till he had fit time of taking reuenge. But his ſonne *Alphonſo*, a man in the ſtrength of his age, and therefore of a hotter bloud and more fiery ſpirit, ſeeing his kinſman *Galeazzo* ſo much abuſed by the ſhamefull vſurpation of his vnkle *Zforza*, he could not temper his paſſions, but euen now when great plots were in laying againſt his father and countrey, he breakes out with more freedome then prudence, into contumelious ſpeeches and bitter menaces againſt *Lodowick*; which forced him the ſooner, and with more violence to run into a warre that brought confuſion to them both, and deſtruction to their States.

APHORISME XIII.

IN[1] *conſultations a Prince muſt yeeld leaſt to his owne paſſions. Graue Counſellors, whoſe wiſedome and experience haue formerly approued their ſeruice, muſt haue greateſt credit in caſes of greateſt weight.*[2] *Such as aduiſe, either to ſoothe the Princes humor, or for their owne particular aduantage, may well be heard, but ought not to be followed.*[3] *Where it is otherwiſe, the*

the effects are dangerous.

1 *MAximè ſalua eſt ciuitas, vbi conſilia ſenum, & iuuenum arma obtinent.* Plut. an ſen. ger. reſp. 789

AEquius eſt vt ego, tot taliumq́, amicorum conſilia ſequar, quàm tot taleſq́, amici, meam vnius voluntatem. Marc. Ant. philoſop.

Eum qui de ſua vnius ſententia omnia gerit, ſuperbum iudico magis, quàm ſapientem. Liuij l. 44.

Natura mortalium, hoc nomine praua & ſiniſtra dici poteſt, quod in ſuo quiſque negotio, hebetior eſt quàm alieno. Curt. l. 9.

2 Συμβούλευε, μὴ τὰ ἥδιστα, ἀλλὰ τὰ κάλλιστα. *i. Conſule, non quæ ſuauiſſima, ſed quæ optima.* Laert. in Solon.

Improbi illi, qui veri copiam non faciunt: ſed ſuſpenſa, & quò ducantur inclinatura, reſpondent. Tacit. An. 13.

Qui cum fortuna potiùs Principis loquuntur, quàm cum ipſo. Tacit. An. l. 1.

Ad commodum ſuum, aut arbitrium Principis, videbis ab ijs plerunque referri. Lip. Anot. l. 3.

Turbida ſunt conſilia eorum, quibus obſtat metus, cupiditas, aut naturalis, eorum quæ cogitauerint amor. Curt. l. 7.

3 *Ego ita comperi, regna, ciuitates, nationes, vſque eo proſperum imperium habuiſſe, dum apud eos vera conſilia valuerunt: vbicunque gratia, timor, voluptas, ea corrupère, poſt paulò imminutæ opes, deinde ademptum imperium, poſtremò ſeruitus impoſita eſt.* Saluſt.

Charles the 8. a Prince of a haughtie ſpirit, raiſed to attempts of higheſt nature, in the prime of his youth, at two and twentie yeares of age, tranſported with an ambitious deſire of glorie, and grounded more vpon force of will, then maturitie of iudgement; is aduiſed by *Stephen de Vers*, *Seneſhall* of *Belcari*, and the Kings minion: by *William Briſſonnet*, (after Biſhop of *S Malò*, and Superintendent of the Finances): by *Antonello da San Seuerino* Prince of *Salerno*: and *Barnardino* of the ſame houſe (both exiles from the kingdome of *Naples*) to entertaine the ſollicitation of *Lodowick Zforza*, for the warres with *Ferdinand*. *De Vers* hoped for great eſtates in *Naples*: *Briſſonnet* expected great preferment from the Church: and the baniſhed exiles promiſed themſelues reſtauration of their honours, and reſtitution of their liuings. Thus all of them for their particular aduantage and proper end, fed the Kings humour, violently caried that way. But the more ancient, wiſe, and true hearted Nobilitie, and among theſe the

Admirall *Grauilla* diſſwaded the action; alledging it to be an enterpriſe of great difficultie and danger: becauſe he muſt leade his armie into a farre countrey, and againſt a powerfull nation. That *Ferdinand* was a Prince of great wiſedome, & *Alphonſo* his ſonne a commander of great courage, and eminent reputation; and that by confiſcation of ſo many Barons lands, in thirtie yeares ſpace, it was to be preſumed he was growne very rich. On the other ſide, that the King was too weake in thoſe his greene yeares, to ſuſtaine in perſon the weight of ſo great a burthen. And that thoſe in chiefe grace about him, were inſufficient, either in counſell or experience, to manage ſo great an action. That he was vnfurniſhed of money. That the *Italians*, and chiefly *Zforza*, were cautelous and deceitfull, calling him in but to ſerue their owne turnes. That none of them could endure a King of *France*, to be peaceably poſſeſt of *Naples*. That it were neceſſarie, before he engaged himſelfe in this expedition, to compound all differences with his neighbour Princes. That there wanted no occaſions of iealouſie and diſcord betweene him and the King of *Spaine*. That he had but cold correſpondencie with *Maximilian* king of the *Romanes*, and *Philip* Archduke of *Auſtria*, by reaſon of many emulations, competitions and differences depending vndecided and vnſatisfied betweene them. Beſides the iuſt feare he ought to haue of the Engliſh nation, if his backe were once turned, and his countrey laid open vnto them. All theſe weightie conſiderations notwithſtanding, and whatſoeuer was or might be ſaid to the contrary, he wilfully reiects all, followes the aduice of his fauourites *Briſſonnet* and *De Vers*, perſiſts in his firſt reſolution, condeſcends to the motion of warre, and diſpatcheth with all ſpeed the Embaſſadour *Belgioioſo*, with the articles of agreement, and other neceſſarie inſtructions, for the warre.

APHO-

APHORISME XIIII.

PRinces [1] *in actions of greateſt conſequent, ſhould be inſtructed by the rule of State, or directed by the prudent courſe of their Predeceſſors:* [2] *Elſe they giue warrant to euerie meane vnderſtanding, to iudge of the action, and fore-iudge of the euent.*

1 *Conuocauit ad ſe omnes literatos, & maximè eos qui hiſtorias norunt: requirens, quid in talibus cauſis (quales in diſceptatione verſabantur) veteres Imperatores, vel Romani, vel exterarum nationum feciſſent.* Lamp. de Seuero.

Alios Magiſtros exue: ſatis amplis Doctoribus inſtructus, maioribus tuis. Tac. Ann. l. 15.

Adeò nihil motum ex antiquo probabile eſt: veteribus, niſi quæ vſus arguit euidenter, ſtari malunt. Liuij l. 34.

Moribus antiquis res ſtat Romana, viriſq́. Ennius.

Παρὰ τῶν προγεγενημένων μανθάνετε, αὕτη γὰρ ἀεὶ ἡ διδασκαλία: *i. Diſcite ab ijs qui ante nos: quæ doctrinæ ratio optima eſt.* Xenoph. Cirus filijs moriturus.

Διάπειρα ἔλεγχος. *i. Experientia index.* Pindarus.

2 *Multis noua & ancipitia præcolere, auida & plerunque fallax ambitio eſt.* Tacit. An. 14

Francis Zforza, father of *Lodowick*, a Prince of ſingular valour and prudence, though a profeſſed enemy to the houſe of *Arragon*, and a ſtrict ally to them of *Aniou*: yet when *Iohn* Duke of *Aniou* made his claime to the kingdome of *Naples*, and with all the forces that himſelfe and friends could make, aſſailed it: he was ſo farre from ioyning with the French, as he gaue aide and aſſiſtance to *Ferdinand*: ſo as from him alone the King acknowledged to haue obtained the victorie, and ſaued his Crowne. This did old *Zforza*, not out of any loue he bare the *Arragoneſe*, but, that the French might haue no footing ſo neare him in Italy. Vpon which reaſon *Philip-Maria Viſconti* (before him) fell from them of *Aniou*, and ſet free *Alphonſo*, his priſoner and capitall enemie, whom he had that time in *Millan* caſtle. On the other ſide, *Lewes* the 11. (father to this *Charles* the 6.) vtterly refuſed the offer of *Genoa*, and meanes to warre vpon *Naples*: holding the hazard and vncertaintie of the purchaſe, vnworthy the great ex-

pence, and certaintie of the losse. Yet these two sons (*Lodowick* of *Millan* and *Charles* of *France*) quite contrary to their fathers principles, the one out of a despiteous desire of reuenge, the other out of an impetuous ambition of dominion, embraced the motion, and engaged themselues in the action.

APHORISME XV.

Hide[1] *not from thy Lawyer or Physition, the state of thy cause, or body: nor discouer to thy subiect or enemy, thy wants or thy feares: for it giues encouragement to the one, and quite dismayeth the other. Imitate rather the well-aduised sea-man, when thou steerest at the sterne of a great State, beset and set vpon by many and great forces: who seeing the clouds gather, the winds rise, and the waues swell, besides diuers Pirates hauing him in chase; as if both heauen and earth had conspired his confusion: he raiseth the deiected thoughts of his souldiers and mariners, with many words of assurance, in the thightnesse of his ship, the goodnesse of her tackle, the swiftnesse of her sailing, and many other aduantages he hath vpon the enemy (though in his owne heart he truly apprehend the danger as it is).*[2] *Whereby he makes his resistance the stronger, or procures his peace, vpon better termes.*

Am. Marcel. l.12. 1 *Cautus nauigandi magister, clauuos pro fluctuum motu, erigit vel inclinat.*

Plutarch. in vita oratorū. *Veluti à prora dirigere vrbem: Animal (vt ait Plato)* εὐτροφώτατον *i. versatilissimum.*

Sabellic. l.4. d.2. *Gubernare nauem, & rempub. simile.*

Sid. App. 8. *Medicus in desperatione, Gubernator in tempestate, cognoscitur. Horum omnium famam, præcedentia pericula, extollunt.*

Pro. Gal. *Faire bonne mine, au mauuais ieu.*

Liuij l.22. 2 *Principes natura magni, libenter audiunt, & audacter prædicant magnifica. Spem magis ipsam, quàm spei causam intuentes.*

Sid. Ap. l.10. *Solet abrupta sæpe discrimina, salutis vltima desperatio propulsare.*

Virg. l.10. *Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito.*

Liuij l.22. *Quò timoris minus est, eò minùs fermè periculi est.*

Plaut. Pseud. *Bonus animus, in re mala, dimidium est mali.*

Con

Con queſti detti le ſmarrite menti,
Conſola, e con ſereno e lieto aſpetto:
Ma preme mille cure egre, e dolenti
Altamente ripoſte in mezzo al petto. Taſſo cant. 5.

Ad efficiundos milites ſtrenuos, nihil mihi videtur efficaciùs eſſe, quàm bonas hominibus ſpes inÿcere poſſe. Xenoph. Cyripæd.

Ferdinand of *Naples* ſaw the States of the Church, *Venice* and *Millan*, confederate againſt him: and the force of all *France*, like a mightie ſtorme coming vpon him. He giues out to the world, how little he feared all their machinations and threats. If they meant to aſſaile him by ſea, they ſhould find him prouided of a royall *Armada*, able to encounter them: his Ports well fortified, and all in his owne hands. No Baron in his kingdome to giue them footing, (as the Prince of *Roſſana* had formerly done to the Duke of *Aniou*.) If by land, his feare was then leſſe: for they were to leade their troupes a march of a thouſand miles, through diuers States, not without great iealouſie of thoſe Princes who would not faile to impeach their paſſage: And at their coming they ſhould find his kingdome full of men at armes, and other horſes of ſeruice: ſtore of munition, artillerie, and all other warlicke habillements: full coffers in his Exchequer, to maintaine thoſe forces, and to raiſe new vpon occaſion: many worthy Commanders; and his ſonne *Alphonſo* in chiefe, a Prince reputed through *Europe*, of eminent fame, and experience in martiall affaires. Beſides, he had the king of *Spaine*, his kinſman by bloud, and brother by marriage, of whoſe aide he was ſure in all his extremities. Theſe were his *Brauadoes*, giuen out in publicke. But as he was a Prince of ſingular wiſedome and great practiſe in the world, he had other conſiderations tormented him in his inmoſt thoughts; hauing there a deepe impreſſion of all the troubles he had formerly endured by the French nation: he deeply weighed how he was to wage warre with a couragious and warlike people, farre too ſtrong for him in horſe, foote, ſhipping, munition and money; and daring to expoſe themſelues to all dangers for the honour and greatneſſe of their king. Himſelfe on the other ſide, had aſſurance of none: his ſubiects ſome of

them bearing an inueterate hate to him and his houſe: others too much enclined to thoſe men he had baniſhed: and all the reſt, *a people leſſe true to their Prince, and more deſirous of change then any other nation vnder heauen.* As for his allie of *Spaine*, he had often found by experience, that his offers are large, and report of his preparations great, but the effects, either none or ſmall; and thoſe very late, and out of time. And laſtly, for his owne money, he had not ſuch ſtore as to ſerue his turne for the preſent; and when that was ſpent which he had in readie caſh, the warres would bereaue him of all meanes to leuie more. Thus he rightly iudged of things, though he gaue out otherwiſe. VVhereby he encouraged his people, and raiſed forces both by ſea and land, to encounter the enemie: who elſe, for feare of the French reputation and great preparation, would haue bene hardly drawne to the ſeruice.

APHORISME XVI.

SVch' are the changes and chances of mans life, as are the caſts at Dice: good and bad. A good chance may be marred with ouerſight, and an ill one helped by good play.[2] *So muſt a prudent and well-aduiſed Prince, take heed that he gouerne his good fortune well: and if the neceßities of the times, threaten warre and ruine vpon him, let him ſeeke to auoide them by all the meanes he poßibly may.*

Terent. Plat.de rep. lib.10.

1 *Ita eſt vita hominis, quaſi cùm ludas teſſeris. Si illud quòd eſt maximè opus iactu, non cadit: illud quod cecidit fortè, arte vt corrigas.*

χρῆ ὥσπερ ἐν πεττείαις Κύβων, πρὸς τὰ πεπτωκότα πίθεσθαι τὰ αὑτῷ πράγματα, ὅπη ὁ λόγος ἄριστα βελτιστ' ἀνέχειν. *i. Oportet in talorum iactu, ad id quod ceciderit, res ſuas aptare, quocunque ratio id optimum eſſe duxerit.*

Terent.Eun. Valer.Flacc.

2 *Omnia priùs conſilio, quàm armis experiri, ſapientem decet.*

— *Non ſolis viribus æquum*
Credere: ſæpe acri potior prudentia dextra.

Tac.An.l.11. Id.ibid.

Cautis, quàm acrioribus conſilijs, potentia tutius habetur.

Tutius conſilijs & aſtu, res externas moliri: arma procul habere.

Plura

Plura consilio, quàm vi perficiuntur.

Militibus cupido pugnandi conuenit: Duces, prouidendo, consultando, cunctatione, sæpius, quàm temeritate prosunt.

Ante equidem summa de re statuisse Latini,
Et vellem, & fuerat melius, non tempore tali,
Cogere Concilium, cum muros obsidet hostis.

Tac. An. l. 2.

Tacit. hist. 3.

Virgil. Æn. l. 11.

Ferdinands lot was cast: and a furious torrent of troubles falling vpon him. To stop the violent current hereof, he must either pacifie the French king by some faire offers, or picke some principall Stone out of that foundation of the late league, which was first plotted and entred by those confederate States, onely for his proper damage and ruine. To this effect he sends *Camillo Pandone* to the French Court: he fees the chiefe fauourites about the king, with gifts, pensions, and other faire promises, to further his suite. And rather then not preuaile, he offers to hold his kingdome of *Charles* the 8. and his successors, with *recognition of homage, and yearely tribute*. He interposeth in the difference betweene the Pope and the *Orsini*: and brings it by arbitration to a finall and peaceable end. He offers the Ladie *Sances* (his sons daughter) to match with *Don Giuffré* the Popes sonne; and giues them the assurance & inuestiture of the Principalitie of *Squillaci*, with an annuall reuenue of ten thousand Duckats, and a command of one hundred men at armes in pay. He treates likewise with *Lodowick Zforza* (first broacher and mouer of all the mischiefe) and offers to referre himselfe to his will and pleasure, in all matters concerning his nephew *Iohn Galeazzo* and the State of *Millan*. Thus he failed not, in this desperate estate of his affaires, to vse all possible meanes of reconciliation with the Pope and *Zforza*, and of pacification and accord with the French king. But all would not serue.

APHO-

APHORISME XVII.

THe [1] defect of a vertue, is commonly much worse then the excesse: because this, though it ouerpasse the golden line of Mediocritie, yet it hath much in it, that still relisheth of the vertue. Whereas that other extreme of the defect, neuer comes neare it. [2] Hence is it, that the passion of Feare is of such force, as by it, the timorous are carried to more precipitate resolutions, through despaire, then the temerarious, through inconsideration. [3] So violently are they tossed in the sea of dangers, that haue lost their anchor of Hope.

Arist.eth.l.2. c.8. 1 Πρὸς δὲ τὸ μέσον ἀντίκεισθαι μᾶλλον ἡ ἔλλειψις. *i. Medio magis opponitur defectus.*

Id.ibid. *Quæ enim plus à medio distant, esse magis contraria videntur.*

Martial. 2 *Res est imperiosa timor.*

Por.in Guic. *Alle deliberationi precipitose, si conduce non meno ageuolmente il timido, per la desperatione: che il temerario, per inconsideratione.*

Diog.Laert. *Timidi parcere nesciunt, & sæuiùs agunt.*

Liuij l.4. *Necessitas, remedium & arma vltima desperatorum.*

Sen.Her.fur. *Prona est timori, semper in peius fides.*

Stat.3.Theb. *Pessimus in dubijs augur, timor.*

Virg.l.4. *Degeneres animos, timor arguit.*

Tacit.hist.2. 3 *Fortes ac strenui contra fortunam, insistunt spei: timidi & ignaui ad deliberationem formidine properant.*

Plut.Paneg. *Nec prouoces bella, nec timeas.*

Flor. de Sex. Pomp. *Quod magnæ indolis signum, (sperare semper.)*

Plut.de fort. Alex.fol.342 *Viaticum Alexandri in Asiam contendentis, Spes. Diuisa enim re familiari & reditu regio inter amicos, tibi verò (inquit Perdiccas) quid facies reliquum? respondit, Spes.*

Thucid.l.1. *Si quid irrita spe tentauerint, noua rursus spe amissa reparantes.*

The faire offers which *Ferdinand* king of *Naples* had made to *Zforza*, were in faire way of preuailing with him, had not the fierie and furious passion of *Alphonso* the kings son, marred all. For he, because he knew well the timorous and suspicious nature of *Lodowick*, thought to dash all his attempts, and daunt him from proceeding farther, with high words of threats and me-

menaces. VVherein the yong Prince erred much. For by this meanes, he tooke from *Zforza* all hope of vnfained reconciliation, which made him obstinately persist in his first resolution, and desperately proceed to call in the French, and further the action: though he now began to feare the danger, as well as other Princes of *Italy*. Not caring, so he might certainly vndoe his enemy, though he put his owne fortunes and countrey into manifest hazard.

APHORISME XVIII.

ALL[1] *creatures are naturally skilfull and cunning to know not onely their owne good, but what may hurt and annoy their enemie. And therefore the Dragon biteth the Elephants eare, and thence sucketh his bloud: because he knoweth that to be the onely place, which he cannot reach with his Tronke, to defend.*

[2] *So the party iniured (if he finde no other way) reuengeth himselfe vpon the iniurer, by infusing ill counsell into his eares. A Prince therefore, must either not wrong his neighbour, or not take his aduice whom he hath wronged.*

1 *Callent enim in hoc cuncta animalia, sciuntq; non sua modò, verùm & hostium aduersa. Norunt sua tela: norunt occasiones: partesq; dissidentium imbelles.* Plin.nat.hist. lib.8.cap.25.

Elephantis frigidissimus est sanguis, ob id æstu torrente à Draconibus expetuntur: quamobrem in amnes mersos insidiantur: attractisq; illigata manu, in aurem morsum defigunt, quoniam is tantùm locus defendi non potest. Ita eos à Draconibus ebibi, siccatósque concidere, & ipsos inebriatos opprimi, commorique. Idem cap.12.

2 *Quelibet extinctos iniuria suscitat ignes.* Ouid.art.l.2.

Quod cauere possis stultum admittere est: Malo ego nos prospicere, quàm hunc vlcisci accepta iniuria. Terent.Eun.

Procliuius est iniuriæ, quàm beneficio vicem exoluere: Quia gratia oneri, vltio in quæstu habetur. Tacit.hist.3.

Si non insanit satis sua sponte, instiga. Terent.

Ietter del' huyle au feu. Pro.Gal.

Le Despit est vn execrable Conseiller. Amyot. in Plut. Agis.

Saluſt.fol.70 de Mic.& Iu. *Statuit eum obiectare periculis, & eo modo fortunam tentare: Sperans, vel oſtentando virtutem, vel hoſtium ſæuitia eum occaſurum, præfecit Numidis, &c.*

Thucyd.l.8. *Sic Alcibiades conſilium dedit Tiſapherni, animo quàm maximè obnoxium criminibus eum faciendi.*

Lamp.fol.44 *Sic Irene filio Conſtantino inuiſo ſuaſit, vt vxorem ſuam repudiaret, quo omnium odia in ſe concitauit.*

Hercules d'Eſté, Duke of *Ferrara*, and father in law to *Zforza*, vnderſtood very well, that it was he onely which had ouer-ruled the other States, newly entred into league with *Venice*, to condeſcend to this award: *That the Venetians ſhould quietly enioy Poliſene*: which they had taken from the Duchie of *Ferrara*, ſome ten yeares before. Yet *Lodowick* made faire ſemblance to haue ſtood his great friend in the matter: and the Duke tooke no notice, of that which he knew wel enough. *Zforza* now deſires to be aduiſed by him, as by a kinſman and good allie, in this great affaire he had againſt *Ferdinand*. *Hercules* giues him the moſt peſtilent counſell he can, and eſpecially aboue all the reſt, he aduiſeth him to call in the *French*.

APHORISME XIX.

NAture,[1] *out of the rich treaſure of her ſtore-houſe, hath furniſhed many armies of her creatures with armours of defence: but to all in generall ſhe hath giuen a care of their preſeruation, and ſome ſmall meanes to auoide (if not reſiſt) a danger. To man, liable to more dangers, ſhe hath bene more plentifull of her meanes to eſcape them.*[2] *And therefore when he feares a miſchiefe, from thoſe whom he hath iuſtly incenſed againſt him, he faines all artifice of amends, and ſemblance of friendſhip, to auoide that iuſt reuenge, which they might worthily inflict, and he neceſſarily expect.*[3] *A courſe, though not of ſinceritie, yet of ſafetie: though not to be taught for a rule, yet to be excuſed for neceſſitie.*

Plin.nat.hiſt. iib.8.

1 *Vide Plinij naturalem hiſtoriam per totum libri octaui tractum.*

2 *Non*

2 *Non magis hoſtibus vllo modo nocueris, quàm ſi amicitiam illorum ſimules.* Xenoph.

Decipere, pro moribus temporum, ſumma eſt prudentia. Plin.ep.l.8.

Quod temporis anguſtiæ negant, ſagacitate conſilij aſſequuntur. Valer.l.2.

Illud amicitiæ quondam venerabile nomen
Proſtat, & in queſtu pro meretrice ſedet. Ou.2.Pont.3

Ei inſidiantes, quem ob imbecillitatem vident magis expoſitum iniuriæ. Plut.de frat.

3 *Arma parent, & quæ ſit rebus cauſa nouandis, diſſimulent.* am.fol.490.

Vbi Leonina pellis non pertingit, oportet vulpinam aſſuere. Virg.

Cum contendi nequit vim eſt, clam tendenda eſt plaga. Plut. Lyſan.

Iudice me, fraus eſt conceſſa, repellere fraudem. Pacuu.

Tuta frequenſq; via eſt per amici fallere nomen, Ouid.art.3.
Tuta frequenſq; licet ſit via, crimen habet. Ouid.

Lodowick Zforza ſeeing the Princes of *Italy* incenſed againſt him, and iealous of the French his comming downe to *Naples*, which they laid to his charge, and that euen they of the confederacion feared it as much as the reſt; vndertaketh to *Ferdinand*, the Pope, and *Peter Medici*, that he will coole the heate of *Charles* the 8. and diuert his forces from *Italy*. He proteſteth, that himſelfe alſo reſenteth that intended warre, both for the generall good of them all, as alſo for his owne proper intereſt, being no leſſe preiudiciall and fearfull to him, then to any other Prince of that countrey. He alledgeth, that what he had hitherto done, was of neceſsitie: forced thereunto by the ancient confederation betweene his houſe, and that of *France*: and holding all he poſſeſſed in *Genoa*, in fee of that Crowne. This did *Zforza*, to entertaine them with vaine hopes, and amuſe them with delayes, leaſt they ſhould all ſet vpon him, before the French forces were on foote, and readie for his ſuccours.

APHORISME XX.

THe 1 *Hart-wolfe, be he neuer ſo hungry and ready to eate, yet if he ſee another prey, he forſakes his meate and followes after it. Such a wolfe in the heart is ambitious couetouſneſſe: it makes no vſe of what it hath gotten, but gree-*

dily hunteth after more: and like Æsops dog, loseth the morsell in his mouth, by snapping at the shadow in the water.[2] *He therefore maketh his bargaine ill, that buyes a future hope with a present losse; and parts from a certaine possession, to make an vncertaine purchase.*

Plin.nat.hist. lib.8.cap.22. Idem c. 37. l.11.

1 *Lupo-Ceruario quamuis in fame mandenti, si respexerit, obliuionem cibi subrepere aiunt: digressumq; quærere aliud.*

Insatiabilia animalium: quibus à ventre protinus recto intestino transeant cibi, vt Lupis-Ceruarijs.

Terent. Eun.

2 *Spem pretio non emam.*

Æsop fab.4

Miser, deerat cupiditati tuæ modus: satis superq; erat ni despuisses: iam per tuam stultitiam minus nihilo tibi est.

Parut.l.2.

Nelle cose de gli Stati, è grande infamia, quando l'imprudentia è accompagnato dal danno.

Salust.Iug.

Quantumuis opibus tuis confidas, non debes certa pro incertis mutare.

Ouid.Am.2.

Venator sequitur fugientia, capta relinquit,
Semper & inuentis vlteriora petit.

Plaut.Pseud

Certa amittimus, dum incerta petimus.

Tasso cant.2.

Ben giro è di fortuna audace e stolto,
Por contra il poco e incerto, il certo è'l molto.

Ariost.cant. 38.

Che poco saggio si può dir colui,
Chi perde il suo, per acquistar l'altrui.

Charles the 8. to be assured that the king of *Spaine* should not aide his cosen *Ferdinand*, nor seeke occasion of troubles in his absence, restores, without one penie paying, the strong towne of *Perpignan*, and the whole countie of *Rossiglion*, morgaged to his father *Lewes* the 11. for a great summe of money. A thing ill taken by all the three Estates in *France*. Becausе, it being seated at the foote of the *Pyrenæan* mountaines, impeached on that side, the Spaniards comming into their countrey. He restores likewise to the Emperour *Maximilian*, all the townes he held in *Artois*, reseruing onely the Cittadels in his owne hands, till *Philip* the heire of *Burgundie*, came of age to confirme this couenant, *Of not molesting his State of France, while he was busied in the warres of Italy:* And then, vpon performance thereof, to make resignation of those Cittadels also.

APHORISME XXI.

NOthing [1] can quench the combuſtible ſlime of the pond in Samoſaris, nor the burning flame of the high hill Chimæra, but onely earth. [2] So nothing can ſatisfie the muddie thoughts of the couetous, or the inflamed heart of the malicious, but onely the graue. For when his imagination perſwades him, that he hath made ſure his firſt purchaſe; the vnſatisfied diſeaſe of this Dropſie, driues him beyond all limits of iuſtice or reaſon, to thirſt after more; and to thinke it good purchaſe. [3] Whereas there are no perquiſites of laſting and ſure tenure, but onely thoſe of Vertue and Iuſtice.

1 *Emittens limum flagrantem, (maltham vocant) quam terra tantùm reſtingui docuêre experimenta.* Plin.nat.hiſt l.2.c.104.

Flagrat mons Chimæra, immortali flamma: ignem eius accendi aqua, extingui verò terra & fimo, Gnidius Cteſias tradit. Idem lib.2. cap.106.

2 *Improbæ creſcunt diuitiæ, tamen*
Curtæ neſcio quid ſemper abeſt rei. Hor.l.3.od.2

——Ergò paratur
Altera villa tibi, cum rus non ſufficit vnum,
Et proferre libet fines, maiorq́; videtur,
Et melior vicina ſeges: mercaris & hanc. &c. Iuuen.Sat.14

Auarus in nullum bonus, in ſe peſſimus. Seneca.

Creſcit indulgens ſibi dirus hydrops. Hor.l.2.od.2

Creſcit amor nummi, quantum ipſa pecunia creſcit,
Et minus hoc optat, qui non habet.—— Iuuen.Sat.10

Tam deeſt auaro quod habet, quàm quod non habet. Pub.

Vnus Pelæo Iuueni non ſufficit orbis,
Cum tamen à figulis munitam intrauerit vrbem,
Sarcophago contentus erit: Mors ſola fatetur
Quantula ſint hominum corpuſcula. Iuuen.Sat.10

At primum ſcelerum matrem, quæ ſemper habendo
Plus ſitiens, patulis rimatur, faucibus aurum,
Trudis auaritiam: cuius fœdiſſima mater
Ambitio, quæ veſtibulis foribuſq́; potentum
Excubat, & pretijs commercia poſcit honorum,
Pulſa ſimul.—— Claudian. paneg.3.

Iamais l'ambition n'a d'arreſt, & n'a pas ſi toſt commencé vne beſogne, qu'elle embraſſe vn autre: dont, la fin eſt, de ne laiſſer iamais, ni ſoy, ni les autres en repos. Am.in Plut. Demet.

Bartas fur.

Qui miſerable croiſt, tant plus croiſt ſa richeſſe,
Fier monſtre, ſans reſpect, ſans amitié, ſans foy,
Qui nuit à ſes voiſins, & plus encor' à ſoy.

Auguſt. Iuuenal. Saluſt. Cat.

3 *Remota Iuſtitia, quid ſunt Regna, niſi magna latrocinia?*
Semita certè tranquillæ per virtutem patet vnica vitæ.
Diuitiarum atque formæ gloria, fluxa atque fragilis eſt,
Virtus clara æternaq; habetur.

Xenophon.

Ἔγω δὲ οὐδὲν νομίζω γε ἄνδρι, ἀλλως τε καὶ ἀρχοντι κάλλιον εἶναι κτῆμα, οὐδὲ λαμπρότερον, Ἀρετης, καὶ Δικαιοσύνης. *i. Ego verò arbitror nullam poſſeſsionem, viro præcipuè Principi, meliorem aut pulchriorem eſſe, Virtute & Iuſtitia.*

Lodowick Zforza perſwaded himſelfe, that by the comming of the *French*, and weakning of the *Neapolitan*, he need now no longer feare to be put out of his Protectorſhip and Vicegerencie of *Millan*. He therefore erects his thoughts to a higher pitch. He giues in mariage his niece *Bianca-Maria* (*Iohn Galeazzo* his ſiſter) to the new elect Emperour *Maximilian*, with couenant of foure hundred thouſand Duckats in mony, and forty thouſand in Iewels, and other furniture: conditionally, that the Emperour ſhould conferre vpon him, and his heires, the Inueſtiture of the Duchie of *Millan*: to the odious and ſhamefull diſinheriting of his nephew, the lawfull and preſent Prince: vnder pretence that this State was iuridically deuolued to the Empire, for default of heires males, euer ſince the death of *Philip-Maria Viſconti*. By which he did inſinuate, that his father, brother, and nephew, ſucceeding one another in that gouernment, were all vſurpers.

APHORISME XXII.

THe [1] poiſonfull Aconite, ſo much deſired of the Panther, is purpoſely hung vp by hunters, in veſſels aboue their reach: whereof they are ſo greedie, as they neuer leaue leaping and ſtraining thereat, till they burſt and kill themſelues, and ſo are taken. [2] *So do men that aime at Honor, too high for their reach, and too great for their merit. For a heart ouergrowne with this ranke Aconite, neither admits the beames of Grace to mollifie the hardneſſe, nor*

the

the bounds of nature to reſtraine the ſwelling: but is vnnaturally carried to wrong thoſe of his owne bloud that are liuing; and to blemiſh the honorable fame of his Predeceſſors departed.[3] *Such tyrants may beare themſelues vp for a time, but in the end they find, that though diuine Iuſtice hath leaden feet, ſhe hath iron hands: though ſlow in comming, yet ſhe ſtriketh home.*

1 *Tam auida hæc fera eſt Aconiti, vt à Paſtoribus in aliquo vaſe, ex induſtria ſuſpenſum ſit altiùs, quàm vt queant ſaltu attingere, vt ita, iaculando ſe appetendoq́, deficiat, & poſtremo expiret.* Plin. nat. hiſt lib. 8. cap. 27

2 *Nullum eſt officium tam ſanctum atque ſolenne, quod non ambitio comminuere, ac violare ſolet.* Cicero.

Omnia recta & honeſta negligunt, dummodo potentiam conſequantur. Cic. off. l. 3.

L'Ambition n'aime que ſoy, & pour peu viole tous droicts d'amitié, & d'eſtroite alliance. Amyot. in Plut. Dem.

Et toy Cupidité, que la terre, que l'air,
Que la mer, que le ciel, ne peuuent pas ſouler:
Qui as de Crocs pour yeux, pour Boyaux des Abiſmes,
Et de Griffes pour maines, contre l'ame tu t'eſcrimes:
Et menez au combat l'enflée ambition,
Qui bruſle à petit feu, de qui la paſſion,
Ne ſe laiſſe borner des Mondes d'epicure. Bartas. fur.

Quouſque fines prorogabitis? Ager vni Domino, qui populum cepit, anguſtus eſt. Sen. ep. 89.

Animum habuit ſemper ingentia, ſemper infinita expetentem. Cuſpin. de Cæſare.

3 *Dominare tumidus, ſpiritus altos gere:*
Sequitur ſuperbos vltor à tergo Deus. Hor. l. 3. od. 2

Rarò antecedentem ſceleſtum,
Deſeruit pede pœna claudo. Sen. Hec. fur.

Quoſdam præcipitat, ſubiecta potentia magnæ
Inuidiæ; mergit longa atque inſignis honorum
Pagina.— Iuue. Sat. 10.

After the death of *Philip-Maria Viſconti*, he leauing no other children, *Frances Zforza* maried his baſe daughter, and ſo came to be poſſeſſed of the Duchie of *Millan*. This State he left to *Galeazzo*, his eldeſt ſon: and he to *Iohn Galeazzo* the grander child. Now *Lodowick Zforza* to make his claime ſeeme iuſt, and purchaſe lawfull, doth no longer couertly inſinuate the vnlawfull vſurpation of his father, brother, and nephew, but impudently and moſt vnnaturally publiſheth to the world, and proteſteth it, in

in iuſtification of his owne ambitious aſpiring. He alſo pretendeth and pleadeth his right, by the caſe of *Cyrus* againſt *Artaxerxes*, becauſe forſooth *he was borne to his father after he was Duke*. And in the end he gaines his proceſſe, and weares the diademe; more by corrupting the Emperour with money, then by any iuſt title of his owne. Which though he held for ſome yeares, yet he neuer enioyed one dayes quiet: but what with the impreſſions of his owne guilt, and the preſſures of his many and great enemies, he was daily embroiled in the troubles of warre, and in the end died miſerably a priſoner in *France*.

APHORISME XXIII.

IN[1] *ſchooles of Art, Doubt begetteth knowledge: for he that doubteth much, asketh often, and learneth much.*[2] *In the ſchoole of Policie, ſhe is the mother of good ſucceſſe: for, he that feareth the worſt, preuenteth it ſooneſt.*[3] *It is true, that man is naturally apter to interprete things to his owne wiſhed end, then to the good of his enemie: and rather to doubt leſſe then he ſhould, then more:*[4] *Though this later, be the ſurer way.*

Gram.vulg. 1 *Is qui nil dubitat, nil capit inde boni.*

Claudian. 2 —— *Ductorq́ placebat*
Non qui præcipiti traheret ſimul omnia caſu:
Sed qui maturo, vel læta vel aſpera rerum
Conſilio momenta gerens. —

Ou.Met.l 6. —— *Quantum mortalia pectora*
Cæcæ noctis habent? ——

Virg. *Hic magnus ſedet Æneas, ſecumq́ volutat*
Euentus belli varios.—

Liu.l.30. *Modum imponere ſecundis rebus, nec nimis credere ſerenitati præſentis temporis, prudentis hominis, & meritò fœlicis eſt.*

Senec.ſent. *Si nil velis timere, metuas omnia.*

Lucan.lib.8. —— *Hæc menſura timoris*
Velle putant quodcunque poteſt.

Seneca. 3 *Quod nimis miſeri volunt, hoc facilè credunt.*

Liuj l.24. 4 *Omnia audens contemnitur, nil temerè agens metuitur.*

Velocitas

Velocitas iuxta formidinem: cunctatio propior constantiæ est. Tac.An.l.4.
Omissis præcipitibus, tuta & salutaria capessenda. Ibid.
Velox consilium sequitur pœnitentia. Pub.Mi.
Turpe est, dicere non putaram. Scip. ap. Val.
Qui timet insidias omnes, in nullas incidit. Seneca. sent

Ferdinand is mistaken in the proceedings and actions of *Lodowick*, by construing them to such purpose as himselfe wished. His hopes are increased by the Parentade, which he saw lately concluded betweene him and the Emperour. For he perswades himselfe, that now of necessity *Millan* must quit her alliance and confederation with *France*, by reason of the enmitie betwixt the Empire and that Crowne. He assures himselfe, that to minister such great summes of money as were to be disbursed in dower with Ladie *Bianca*, to the Kings Riuall and professed enemie, would breed much diffidence and dislike betweene him and *Lodowick*. He supposeth that *Zforzaes* feare must now needs be as much, and his danger as great, by the coming in of the French, as any others: And doubteth not but that the *Venetians* (who were now held the greatest power of *Italy*) would neuer brooke the coming in of a greater then themselues. In all which vaine hopes, the craftie Duke cunningly fed him, till it was too late to be better aduised.

APHORISME XXIIII.

THough [1] *the generall good of the Colleagues, make the frame of all Confederations:* [2] *yet particular interest, is the foundation whereupon they are built: and as this continueth sound or weake, in any one of the complices, so standeth or falleth that great building. For one State combines with another, in one and the same action, and concurres to one and the same generall end, no longer then it is for it owne proper good.* [3] *The Practise runnes often thus: the Rule stands otherwise.*

1 *Communis utilitas, nodus & vinculum fœderis.* Liuij l.6.

Ouid.de Pont.2.

2 *Cura quid expediat, prior eſt, quàm quid ſit honeſtum:*
Et reditus iam quiſque ſuos amat, & ſibi quid ſit
Vtile, ſollicitis computat articulis.

Parut.l.2. diſc.5.

In queſte amicizie, ô colleganze de Prencipi, ha ogni vno per ſola mira, lo ſteſſo ſuo commodo, & particolar benefizio: & in tanto poi quello d'altri, in quanto per l'accidente, con ſuo proprio conuenga.

Rag.Stat.l.8

I Prencipi per l'ordinario non ſi muouono, ſe non per intereſſe: & non cognoſcono amico, o nemico, ſe non per lo bene che ne ſperano, o per lo male che ne temano. Et le leghe tanto durano, quanto dura l'vtilità de' collegati.

Am.in Plut. Anton.

Amitiez d'ambitieux, ne tiennent iamais ferme, de quelques liens qu'vn les puiſſe ſerrer.

Ibid.

Aſſez d'accords, mais peu, ou point d'amitié, entre les grands.

Mac.diſc.l.1. cap.37.

Id conſilium accipere, ad quod occaſio duceret, quamuis non videretur eſſe ex ſua dignitate.

Flor. de Rom.l.2.

3 *Summa fœderum religio eſt: Neque ſtatim ad arma procurrunt, dum priùs more legitimo queri malunt.*

Tacit.An.15.

Continui fœderis reuerentia.

Liu.lib.1. fol.11.

Fœcialis in fœdere ſanciendo --- Si prior defecerit publico conſilio, dolo malo: Tu illo die Iupiter populum ſic ferito, vt ego hunc porcum hodiè feriam --- porcumq; ſaxo ſilice percuſſit.

Polyb. lib.3. fol.81.

Sin aliter, aut ago aut cogito, peream, vt hic lapis è manibus decidit.

Had the ſtrict confederation which *Ferdinand* made with *Medici*, or his new affinitie and parentade with the Pope continued firme, without vacillation on either part: he had made thoſe two States (of *Rome* and *Florence*) as two maine Vaw-mures and bulwarks, againſt the French forces: and laid a ſtrong foundation for his imminent warre. But the *Florentines* ſtaggered, vpon their firſt ſummons to a peace and league with *France*, (though they declared not ſo ſoone) for feare of loſing their commerce and trafficke with that Realme. And *Alexander* the 6. who thought it beſt fiſhing in troubled waters, picked new quarrels with *Ferdinand:* either to force the diſtreſſed King to ſatisfie his ambitious greedineſſe, with greater matters then he yet had: or by his mediation and labour, to reduce the Cardinall *S. Peter in Vincola*, to his obedience, who detained from the Sea of *Rome*, the ſtrong Rockes of *Oſtia*, *Ronſiglione*, and *Grotta-ferrata*, and kept them by ſtrong hand againſt him: (a matter which was not in the power of the poore king to effect.) And thus in ſhort time

time was this ſtrong League diſſolued.

APHORISME XXV.

THe[1] *lawes Diuine and Humane, haue left men no ſuch bond of aſſurance, to tie one to another, as that of an oath: which ſhould be taken in ſinceritie, and kept inuiolably.*[2] *But ſeeing the depraua-tion of our nature hath peruerted theſe lawes, and abuſed this lawfull Act, by Equiuocations and mentall reſeruations, making it like a Gipſies knot,* faſt or looſe, *at their pleaſure:*[3] *The law of State preſcribes vs this remedie, to truſt no man of noted falſhood, and duplicitie, but vpon good caution. For, he that hath once paſſed the bounds of honeſtie, and made no religion of Oath, or Couenant, for his proper aduantage, neuer after makes ſcruple in his cauteriate conſcience, to offend in like ſort vpon like occaſion.*

1 ——*Phalaris licet imperet vt ſis*
Falſus, & admoto dictet periuria Tauro,
Summum crede nefas animam præferre pudori,
Et propter vitam, viuendi perdere cauſas. Iuu. Sat. 10.

2 *Aditum nocendi, perfido præſtat fides.*
Fraus diſtringit, non diſſoluit periurium. Sen. Oed.
Tam facile & pronum eſt, ſuperos contemnere teſtes,
Si mortalis idem nemo ſciat. Cic. off. l. 3. Iuu. Sat. 13.

3 *Poco s' aſpetta ſincerità, ô opere fideli, da chi è venuto in concetto de gli huomini, d' eſſer ſolito à gouernarſi, con duplicità, & con artifizij.* Por. Guicc.
Fides vt anima, vnde abijt, eò nunquam redit. Senec. ſent.
Etenim redire, cum perit pudor, neſcit, Sen. Agam.
Qui a commiſe vne iniuſtice, ſe laſche furieuſement la bride à des autres iniuſtices, encores plus grandes, que les premieres. Amyot. in Plut. Agis.
Vn meſchant entaſſe touſiours, crimes ſur crimes. Plut. Gracch
Sic notus Vlyſſes? Equo ne credite Teucri. Virg. Æn. 2
Carbone pollicente quippiam, & addente iuſiurandum, populus Rom. vicisſim iurauit, ſe illi non credere. Eraſ. apopth l. 6.

Pope *Alexander*, a man beyond example for falſhood, had now contrary to his proteſtations and league with *Ferdinand*, enclined to a contract of friendſhip with *France*. He had promi-

ſed a Cardinals hat to S.*Malò*; at the kings inſtance. He with *Zforza*, had entertained in pay *Proſpero Colonna*, and diuers troupes of men at armes, for the kings ſeruice againſt *Naples*. Yet preſently againe, contrary to his aſſurances giuen to the French, he confederates himſelfe with *Alphonſo* the new king, and ſon of *Ferdinand*, in a league defenſiue for both their States. He grants him the inueſtiture of the kingdome of *Naples*, with a diminution of the tribute. He ſends a Legate *à Latere* to crown him: he creates *Lodowick*, ſon of *Henry*, his baſe brother, Cardinall of *Arragon*. The price is this. *Alphonſo* muſt giue the Pope in readie money thirtie thouſand Duckats: he muſt giue his eldeſt ſon, the Duke of *Candia*, eſtates in *Naples*, to the valew of twelue thouſand Duckats. He muſt haue alſo the reuerſion of the firſt of the ſeuen principall offices that ſhall fall in that kingdome. He muſt giue him the command and entertainment for three hundred men at armes. To his ſecond ſon *Cæſar Borgia*, he muſt giue the annuall entrade of diuers Eccleſiaſtical liuings. And to *Giuffrè* the yongeſt ſon, (ouer and beſides what he alreadie poſſeſſed in that kingdome) he muſt alſo giue the office of Protonotarie.

APHORISME XXVI.

IVſtice[1] *and iniuſtice, are the moſt generall of all other morall or politicall habits. There is no vertue or vice, which they do not comprehend.*[2] *Therefore he which is vntrue in his word, and vniuſt in his actions, is apt to perpetrate all other nefarious villanies, and to ſuborne others to do the like. Where his owne atteſtation may not be admitted by law, he will foiſt in falſe witneſſes: and where Iuſtice and Equitie reſtraines him, his power and pleaſure ſhall preuaile. For, what he may not do, he will liſt to do, becauſe he may do what he liſt.*

Ariſt.eth.l.5. 1 Ἐν δὲ δικαιοσύνῃ συλλήβδην πᾶσ' ἀρετή ἐστι. *i. Iuſtitia in ſe virtutes continet omnes.*

A'δι-

Ἀδικία οὐ μέρος κακίας, ἀλλὰ ὅλη κακία. *i. Iniustitia, non pars est vitij, sed totum.* Ibid.

Fundamentum perpetuæ commendationis, & famæ, Iustitia est. Cic.Off.l.3.

Pietate & Iustitia, Principes Dij fiunt. Aug. apud Sen.

Virgo est Iustitia, Ioue prognata,
Casta, & veneranda Dijs cælicolis. Hesiod.ἔργ. l.1.

Θεὸς δείσας περὶ τῷ γενεῖ ἀνθρωπῶν μὴ ἀπόλοιτο πᾶν, δίδωται Αἰδὼς τὲ καὶ Δίκην: ἵν' ᾖεν πολέων κόσμοι τὲ, καὶ δεσμοὶ, καὶ φιλίας σωάγωγοι. *i. Deus metuens ne totum humanum genus interiret, donauit hominibus Pudorem & Iustitiam: vt essent ciuitatum ornamenta, & vincula, & amicitiæ conciliatrices.* Protag.de leg.l.5.

2 *Periere mores, ius, decus, fides.* Sen.Her.fur.

Nullum ad nocendum tempus, angustum est malis. Sen.Med.

Quod non potest, vult posse, qui nimium potest. Sen.Hippol.

Minimùm decet libère, cui multùm licet. Sen.Troa.

Cæsar Borgia was base sonne to Pope *Alexander* the 6. now because it was against the Church Canons to admit any bastard to the dignitie of Cardinal, his father (who was seldom true in any of his promises, or iust in any of his dealings) deales falsly also in this. He subornes certaine knights of the post, to come into Court, and sweare, that *Borgia* was the legitimate sonne of another man.

APHORISME XXVII.

LOng 1 *festered vlcers are beyond the possibilitie of cure, in a bodie where the humours are ranke and venemous.* 2 *So a turbulent spirit, exulcerate with the corrasiues of many wrongs, and impatient of delay in his reuenge, is so farre transported from reason, or accepting the supple oile of reconciliation, as he enters into resolutions of desperate consequence; and vents the poison of his malice, by the pipes of his treasonable practises, into euery veine of his natiue countrey. To the great hazard of her health, and publicke safetie.*

1 —— *Serò medicina paratur*
Cum mala per longas conualuêre moras. Ouid.

Vt in Hydropicis, aqua inter cutem laborantibus, orta in corpore vlcera haud facile sanantur. Hipp. aph.8. sec.6.

Sen. Thyeſt. 2 —*Vindicta*
Nullum relinquit facinus, & nullum eſt ſatis.

Ex hiſt. *Minuti ſemper & infirmi eſt animi exiguiq; voluptas vltionis: hoc patet in Alcibiade, Coriolano, Narſete, Roberto Comite Arteſiæ, in Comite-Stabuli S. Paulo, Duce Borbonio, & alijs.*

Guicc. *E' proprio vffizio della Prudenza, moderare lo Sdegno iuſto, con la maturità del giudizio, & con la conſideraz̃ione dell' vtilità, & dell' intereſſe publico.*

Tacit. hiſt. 1. *Priuata vulnera, reip. malis operire ſtatuit.*

Herodian. *Vt beneficia in ipſo excidunt vſu, ſic tenax eſt iniuriarum memoria.*

Iulian della Rouere, by birth a *Genoueſe*, by title Cardinall of *S. Peter* in *Vincola*, betweene whom and *Roderigo Borgia* (now Pope) was an inueterate and implacable hatred, had a ſtrong partie in his natiue citie of *Genoa*, and the fitteſt meanes to ſaue all *Italie* from trouble, by hindring the deſeignes of the French in that towne: whereof he had giuen ſome hope to *Alphonſo*. Mediation is made by many of the Italian Princes, for a perfect reconciliation of theſe two Prelates. Good caution is offered for the Cardinals ſafe-conduct to *Rome*, there to make a finall and full end of all differences and quarrels betweene the Pope and him. But ſo deeply rooted was the Cardinals rancor and hatred, as he refuſeth all meanes of attonement. He poſteth from *Genoa* where he was borne, to *Auignon* where he was Legate; thence to *Lyons*, where he met the French king: and became chiefe head of the Italian exiles, and principall inſtigator and procurer of all thoſe troubles that ſhortly after followed in *Italie*.

APHORISME XXVIII.

IN[1] *a warre begun betweene two mightie Princes, it is dangerous for a third, and neighbour to them both, not to be a partie, being called into the action: for he is in perill to be a prey to the victor.*[2] *But to him that is ſtrong, and likelier to get then loſe by the bargaine, which ſide ſoeuer preuailes, there is the leſſe hazard. Therefore in ſuch caſes, the ſafeſt is to be neuter.*

1 *Quando*

1 *Quando non effugias quin alterum habiturus ſis inimicum, aut ſocium: iacienda tunc alea, & alterutri adhærendum.* Sueton.

Qui euentum expectaueris, vt Fortunæ applicares conſilia tua, præda victoris eris. Liuij l.32.

Romanos ſocios ſi aſpernamini, vix ſanæ mentis eſtis: ſed aut ſocios aut hoſtes habeatis neceſſe eſt. Liu.de.4.l.2

Vidimus quos ignauia aut praua calliditas (vt alienis laboribus tuti eſſent) armis abſtinuit, acerbiſsimas pœnas ſoluiſſe. Sal.ep.Mith.

Inter impotentes & validos, falsò acquieſces. Tac.de mor. Germ.

Ecquid ad te pòſt paulò ventura pericula ſentis?
Tum tua res agitur, paries cum proximus ardet. Hor.1.ep.18

2 *Lo ſtringerſi in amicizia & confederatione con altro Prencipe, più potente, & molto vicino, quando ſi tratti d'accreſſergli con tale congionzione Potenza, come non manca mai del pericolo, così è conſiglio da non prenderſi, ſe non per grande neceſsità. Et maſsime per quei Prencipi, che non ſono tanto deboli, che conuengano appoggiarſi ad altri, & accompagnar in ogni euento delle coſe, la ſua fortuna con quella d'altri.* Parut.l.2. diſ.9.

La Neutralità nella guerra de gli altri, è coſa lodeuole, e per ella ſi fuggono molte moleſtie, & ſpeſe: quando non ſono ſi deboli le tue forze, che tu habbi da temere la vittoria, di ciaſcuna delle parti. Guicc.l.20.

Quieſcite, poſsidentes res veſtras, ac neutrorum partes ſequimini: Recipite vtroſque amicos: ſed belli gratia neutros. Thucyd.l.2. fol.50.

Embaſſadours come from *Charles* the 8. to *Venice*, to draw that State into amitie and league with him, by example of many former confederations betweene them and the Crowne of *France*: they excuſe themſelues, by the feare they pretend of the Turkes forces, which at this time were great, and the meanes he had to moleſt them, their State confining vpon his, ſo many miles both by land and ſea: in which regard they were forced to be at an inſupportable charge, by maintenance of many garriſons in the *Arci-pelago*, and Port-townes vpon the Adriatique ſea. But indeed they hoped, by the long warre of the other Italian Princes, engaged either with or againſt the French, to enlarge their owne dominions: or at leaſt (being ſo ſtrong as they were) they had no cauſe to feare the Conqueror. And therefore they held it a counſell ill grounded, to embroile themſelues in others troubles, or make another mans quarrell their owne, without euident neceſſitie.

APHORISME XXIX.

AS [1] in a generall defection or rebellion, ſome few, not all, are to be puniſhed, for example: ſo a generall repulſe to a great Princes demand, by a popular State, is not to haue a generall reuenge: It is better to puniſh the head for the motion, then the hands or the feet for the action. [2] Becauſe by this meanes, the Prince may inſinuate himſelfe into the generall fauour of that multitude, and procure their diſlike againſt his particular oppoſites.

Am.in Plut. & Hail.affair l.2.
1 *Touſiours en vne reuolte generale, il faut punir les chefs des ſeditions, & pardonner au reſte.*

Dion. Halic.
Sic Fœcialium officium erat, læſi fœderis authores læſis dedere: Sic in defectione Fidenatium à Romanis, Martius rex paucos ex ijs defectionis authores, ſupplicio affecit.

Lucan.
2 *Quicquid multis peccatur, multum eſt.*

Cic.in Ver.3
Vnius improbi ſupplicio, multorum improbitas coercetur.

Cic.pro Clu.
Pœna ad paucos, metus ad omnes perueniat.

Tacit.Agric.
Debet Princeps omnia ſcire, non omnia exequi: paruis peccatis veniam, magnis ſcueritatem commodare: nec pœna ſemper, ſed ſæpius pœnitentia contentus eſſe.

Ibid.
Temperatus timor eſt qui cohibet, aſſiduus & acer ad vindictam excitat.

Tac.An.l.16.
Noua cupientibus auferatur Dux & Author.

Senec. Theb.
Qui vult amari, languida regnet manu.

Zenoph. in Hieron.
Viro Principi vbi pœnarum aut coercitionis res eſt, alijs id delegandum: vbi præmiorum aut munerum, ipſi obeundum.

Sen.de Cl.5.
Frequens vindicta, paucorum odium reprimit, omnium irritat.

Saluſt.Cat.
In arduis rebus, pericula ſolent incumbere conſilij authoribus.

The Florentine State receiues Embaſſadors from the French King, to ſollicite their alliance, and paſſage for his armie, through their countrey. The fauours and merits of his anceſtors to that commonwealth are vrged: and particularly to *Peter Medici*, with commemoration of the honours done to his houſe by the Crowne of *France*. But *Medici*, rather meaſuring things by will, then by prudence, too much truſting in himſelfe, and vainly perſwaded, that all their great preparations would vaniſh

to

to ſmoake and tumor, ſtiffly reſolueth to continue in friendſhip with the houſe of *Arragon*. The reſt of the Florentines are forced to yeeld to this one mans greatneſſe. Vpon the firſt ouuerture in *France* of this deniall, the King cauſeth all the Bankers for the *Medici*, that were in *Lyons*, preſently to depart his Realme. But ſuffereth the other Florentine Merchants to abide there ſtil, and enioy their former libertie and priuiledges. Hereupon *Medici* himſelfe grew daily in greater diſlike with the other citizens, and the King not long after found them willing to accept of his motion to a League with them, and concluded it.

APHORISME XXX.

THe[1] *contemplatiue part of Muſick, conſiſteth chiefly in a true diſpoſition of Proportions: and the Actiue, is in a ſymphonie and right ſetting of the Inſtruments one to another, and the voice to both. In Oeconomie, men muſt cut their coate to their cloth: and in moralitie*, quid, quantum, quibus, quando, *and* quomodo, *are neceſſary attributes to euery vertue.*[2] *So likewiſe in policie, a prudent Prince ſtanding vpon the defenſiue part, is to meaſure and proportion his reſiſtance according to the ſtrength or weakneſſe of the aſſailer;*[3] *and that in due time:*[4] *by fruſtrating (as much as in him lieth) the Mines made to blow him vp, by his owne countermines of Preuention, and Diuerſion.*

1 *Muſica Theorica eſt, quæ diuerſorum ſonorum proportionem, ingenio & ratione conſiderat, reiq; tantùm cognitione contentus eſt: Practica, quæ circa ſonorum & conſonantiarum praxin verſatur: Choralis verò quæ in ſuis notulis æqualem ſeruat menſuram, &c.* Loſ. Eroten.

Ὅις γὰρ δεῖ, καὶ ὅσα, καὶ ὅτε, καὶ οὗ, καλὸν. *Quibus, quæcunque, & quando, & vbi, honeſtum eſt.* Ariſt. eth. l. 4. cap. 1. & l. 2. cap. 9.

2 *Illud eſt non modò iuſtum, ſed etiam neceſſarium, cum vis vi illata defenditur: hoc, & ratio doctis, & neceſsitas barbaris, & mos gentibus, & feris ipſa natura præſcripſit.* Cic. pro Mil.

Ducis in conſilio, poſita eſt virtus militaris. Publius.

Σφάλερον ἡγεμὼν θρασύς. *i. Periculoſa res, Dux inconſultus.* Eutip.

Amm.Mar. l.16. Brut.ep.29.

3 *Negotijs difficillimis, ſæpè diſpoſitio tempeſtiua proſpexit.*

Apparatio quæ minimè in tempore fit, non plus conducit quàm inapparatio, quæ penitus eſt inutilis.

Pro.Ital.

Acqua lontana, non ſpegne fuoco vicino.

Guic.l.10.

4 *Con le Preuentioni, & con le Diuerſioni, ſi vincono le guerre.*

Pro.Ital.

Alla Pentola che bolle, le Moſche non vi s' appreſſano.

Vegetius.

Nemo prouocare audet, aut facere iniuriam, ei regno aut populo, quem intelligit expeditum & promptum ad vindicandum.

Idem.

Qui deſiderat pacem, præparet bellum.

The French king was aſſured of *Genoa*, *Millan*, the *Colonneſi*, and the baniſhed Neapolitans. *Alphonſo* was combined with the Pope, Florentines, and the *Orſini*. The King ſends two thouſand Swiſſe to *Genoa*, vnder the conduct of the Bailiffe of *Dijon*; and three hundred Lances into *Lombardy*, vnder the command of *Monſieur d' Aubigny*; with fiue hundred more vnder *San Seuerino*, Count *Gaiazzo*, *Galeotto-Pico Mirandula*, and *Rodolpho de Gonzaga*. On the other ſide, *Alphonſo* ſends an armie of one hundred Squadrons of men at armes, (twentie horſe to a Squadron) beſides three thouſand light horſe, and croſſe-bowes on horſeback, with many companies of foote, for the warres in *Romagna*, vnder the charge of *Ferdinand* Duke of *Calabria*, (his eldeſt ſonne) to be aduiſed and directed by *Iohn-Iacob Triultio* and the Count *Petigliano*, two famous Captaines. The French king prepares a great armie at ſea, of gallies, ſhippes, and other veſſels; with all maner of artillerie, munition, and other neceſſarie prouiſion. He makes readie another at *Marſeilles*, and *Villa-Franca*. And *Alphonſo* with like care and military policie, conuents ſecretly with Cardinall *Fregoſo*, and *Obietto Fieſco* (who had ſtrong parties in *Genoa*) with a great fleete to put into that citie all the baniſhed Genoweſes, of the faction *Adorna*: ſo to preuent the enemie of that Port, and diuert him ſome other way. To this effect he ſent *Don Frederick* to their aide, with a ſquadron of thirtie fiue gallies, and eighteene ſhips, well appointed, and three thouſand ſouldiers for land.

APHORISME XXXI.

NOthing [1] rideth on ſwifter wings then fame and opportunitie: here is onely the difference, that flieth ſtill forward, this backward. [2] She muſt therefore be taken by the fore-top, at the very inſtant of her coming. For occaſion paſt is irrecouerable, and the loſſe by ſlacking it, irreparable. Fortune ſeemes after to croſſe all a mans actions: and to be true hand-maide to no miſtris, but occaſion.

1 *Fama malum quo non aliud velocius vllum*
Mobilitate viget, viresq́; acquirit eundo. Virg.

Non iuna coſa vola piu, che l' occaſione. Guicc.l.11.

2 *Si in occaſionis momento, cuius præteruolat opportunitas, cunctatus fueris, nequicquam pòſt omiſſam querare.* Liu.lib.25.

Non ego vt nihil agatur (iubeo) ſed vt agentem te, ratio ducat, non fortuna: tuæ poteſtatis ſemper tu, tuaq́; omnia ſint: vt neque tuæ occaſioni deſis, neque ſuam hoſti des. Liu.l.24.de Fab.

—— *Pòſt eſt occaſio calua.* Adag.

Opportunitatis momenta, omnino redire neſciunt. Pro.bel.Per.

Omne malum naſcens, facilè opprimitur, inueteratum fit robuſtius. Rag.Stat.l.3

Il male che nel principio ſuo, è quaſi Ruſcelletto, che ſi poſſa paſſar à piedi, col progreſſo acquiſta forze, & diuenta formidabile. Rag.di Stat. l.5.

Quando occaſio periit, poſt ſerò cupimus. Plaut.Aul.

Dubitando & dies prolatando, magnæ opportunitates ſæpe corrumpuntur. Saluſt.Cat.

Κρατεῖ δὲ ἐπὶ παντὸς μὲν τοῦ ἀνθρωπῶν ὁ καιρός: μάλιστα δὲ τοῦ πολεμικῶν. *i. Multum poteſt in rebus humanis occaſio: plurimum autem in bellicis.* Polyb.l.8.

Γίγνωσκε καιρόν, *Tempus vt noris iubet: ſed καιρὸς iſte, tempeſtiuum tempus eſt.* Auſon.87.

Had *Don Frederick*, when his nauie was readie, and forces ſhipped, made a maine for *Genoa*, as it was ordered and reſolued, he had bene maſter of the towne before the Swiſſes arriuall, or the enemies ſhipping was readie. But ſtaying vpon the coaſt of *Siena* for two thouſand foote more, and being deluded by the deceitfull hopes which were ſent him from *Zforza*, and foreſlacking this faire occaſion, he afterwards found that Impreſe impoſſible, which but one moneth ſooner had bene moſt faiſible. As alſo the land armie, vnder *Ferdinands* leading, being

now growne mightie and ſtrong, by vniting the forces of *Medici* and *Bentiuoglio*, had bene faire for ſome notable ſucceſſe in *Lombardy* (whither it was firſt deſleigned) had it not made ſuch ſlow haſte from *Naples*, and ſuffered *d' Aubigni*, *San Seuerino*, *Galeotto Pico*, and *Gonſaga*, with their forces to enter *Romagna*, before their comming. And ſo were forced to make that (being their owne countrie) the ſeate of the warre.

APHORISME XXXII.

THe[1] *firſt worke of phyſicke in a diſeaſed bodie, is to repell the venemous humours from the heart: becauſe a diſeaſe once ſeated in this metropolis, is incurable. And the firſt care of the members in man, is to ward a blow made at the head. Art and Nature, in preſeruing and defending theſe two nobler parts, are to be imitated by a wiſe Prince, in guarding a place of chiefeſt importance.*[2] *He muſt ſend in ſuccours, and draw out the diſcontented and dangerous mutiners:*[3] *and ſpare for no coſt, to ſaue that peece, in the loſſe whereof conſiſteth the Maine of all his buſineſſe.*

Crol. Chym. Ex hiſt.
1 *Præcipuum in medico, qui ægrotum curat, vt cor benè defendat.*
2 *Huius conſilij fructum inter multos alios ceperunt, in obſidione Patauina Veneti: in Viennenſi Carolus quintus: in Miletenſi Equites illius ordinis.*

Tacit. hiſt. l. 2
Cremona propugnaculum aduerſus Gallos trans Padum, & ſi qua alia vis per Alpes rueret.

Mac. dif. 22.
Exiſtimo omnes fortunas noſtras, nunquam adducendas in periculum tale, quod non omnibus viribus propulſare queamus.

Tacit. Agric
Oppida aut Caſtella, aduerſus moras obſidionis, annuis copijs firmentur.

Vir. Æn. l.
Et propugnacula bello tuta parent.

Hor. Ser. 1
3 *Neſcis quo valeat nummus, quem præbeat vſum.*

Terẽ. Heaut.
Maximè quandoque lucratur, qui nummis parcit minimè.

Idem.
Pecuniam in loco negligere, maximum interdum eſt lucrum.

Liu. de. 5. l. 4.
Ne ſit Rex, vt Perſeus, Pecuniæ quàm Regni melior cuſtos.

Seneca.
Pecunia ancilla eſt, ſi ſcis vti: ſi neſcis, domina.

Zforza, beſides the Swiſſe ſent to *Genoa* by the French, ſends thither alſo *Iaſpar San Seuerino*, ſirnamed *Fracaſſa*, and *Antonio-Maria*,

Maria, his brother, with two companies of foote. He winnes to his deuotion, with gifts, penſions, and other large promiſes, *Iohn-Luigi Fieſco*, and many of the *Adorni*, with diuers other gentlemen and commoners. And laſtly, to leaue nothing vnſure or vnprouided for, (conſidering how much the aſſurance of this towne imported the warre of *Naples*) he calles to *Millan* from *Genoa*, and all the countrie thereabouts, all ſuch as he ſuſpected to be partiſans with the baniſhed Genoweſes, or the faction of *Arragon*. And thus became aſſured of the place.

APHORISME XXXIII.

ALL' creatures ſuppoſe their owne brood the faireſt: and all men thinke the aire of their owne country the ſweeteſt. Hence is it, that mal-content exiles ſtirre vp forrein Princes to warre vpon it: not caring to what perill they expoſe others, ſo themſelues may be Rimpatriate.[2] *But no mans ſtrength lies in anothers arme: nor is that power firme, which ſubſiſts not of it ſelfe. Princes therefore that farre engage themſelues vpon ſuch inſtigation, and relie vpon ſuch promiſe, they do but leane on broken reeds, and build their hopes on ſandie foundations.*

1 *Quod ſibi volunt, dum id impetrent, boni ſunt: ſed id vbi iam penes ſe habent, ex bonis peſsimi & fraudulentiſsimi ſunt.* Plaut.

Le ſperanze de Fuoruſciti, miſurate più col deſiderio, che con la ragione, rieſcon quaſi ſempre vaniſsime. Guicc.l.9.

2 *Nil tam inſtabile, quàm fama potentia, non ſua vi nixa.* Tacit.

Stulti eſt faſtidire res certas, amplecti ambiguas ſpes. Petrarch.

Agnoſcamus quàm parui faciendæ ſunt, huiuſmodi hominum qui patria pulſi ſunt, promiſsiones. Nam ſi fortuna aliam ijs offerat occaſionem in patriam redeundi, necquicquam fidem ſeruabunt, quicquid tibi promiſerint. Macc.diſc.2.

Multa tibi promittent vt reſtituas eos, multa etiam præſtare ſe poſſe arbitrantur, ſed plura etiam adiungunt: ex quibus omnibus, ſi tu rei bene gerendæ ſpe permoueri te ſinas, facilè eò deduceris, vt ingenti ſumptu tuam ipſius ruinam interitumq; expetas. Ibidem.

In caducum parietem ne inclina. Hadria.

Nullus ſapientum proditori credidit. Senec.ſent.

Cuius ruina, te quoque tractura ſit. Tac.de mor. Germ.

Lucan.8. *Querunt, cum qua gente cadant.*

Sal.bel.Catil *Si regum atque Imperatorum animi virtus, in pace ita vti in bello valeret, æquabilius atque constantius sese res humanæ haberent: neque aliud alio ferri, neque mutari, ac misceri omnia cerneres.*

The Neapolitan fleete altering the first desseigne which it had vpon the Port of *Genoa*, because they vnderstood it was too well assured, by the comming of the Swisse, and the prouident course which *Zforza* had taken, in drawing out of the citie such as he most suspected, they now resolue to attempt some place, either vpon the East or VVest coast. Herein they aduise with the exiles that were in the fleete among them. *Obietto Fiesco* perswades them to attack vpon the East: giues them assurance that he and his fellowes had many friends on that side. They fall vpon *Porto-Venere*: giue many assaults: lose many of their men, and are repulsed. So, without hope to carrie the place, because they finde none of those seconds promised by *Fiesco*, they turne saile to *Ligorne*, for fresh supplies of victuals and men.

APHORISME XXXIIII.

Sooner [1] *may one preuent, then cure a deadly sicknesse; and easilier keepe out, then thrust out an vnwelcome guest.* [2] *Such a dangerous disease, and bad guest, is warre to any countrey. Wise Princes therefore keepe it as farre from home as they can: and neuer quench the fire in their neighbours house, to kindle it in their owne.*

Ouid. 1 *AEgriùs expellitur, quàm non admittitur hospes.*

Parut.l.2. disc.5. 2 *Il mantener la guerra nella casa altrui, è sempre vtile consiglio: ma più sicuro in quelli che ne sono lontani.*

Cic.pro leg. Man. *Sedes belli semper miserrima: cuius non aduentus solùm, sed etiam metus, affert calamitatem.*

Ammir.l.18. *Il Duca d'Alua essendo sfidato, & prouocato alla Battaglia, dal Duca di Ghisa, in casa propria (ciò è nel regno di Napoli) rispose, che egli non volea in vna giornata, auenturar vn Regno, per vna soproueste di Broccato.*

Amm.& Liu. *Hannibal negabat Romanos, nisi in Italia, opprimi posse.*

Pro-

Propinqua Cremonenſium mœnia, quanto plus ſpei ad effugium, tanto minorem ad reſiſtendum, animum dabant. Tacit.l.29.

Vtrùm in Macedoniam legiones tranſportetis, an hoſtem in Italiam accipiatis, hoc quantum interſit, ſi vnquam aliâs, Punico certè proximo bello experti eſtis. Suſp. apud Liu.

Omne bellum ſumitur facilè, egerrimè deſinit: nec in eiuſdem poteſtate initium & finis eſt. Saluſt.Iug.

Hoſtium vrbes agriq; ferro atque igni vaſtentur: Experti iam ſumus, foris nobis, quàm domi, fœliciora potentioraq; arma eſſe. Liu.l.21.

Plus animi eſt inferenti periculum, quàm propulſanti. Liu.l.28.

The State of *Venice*, ſollicited by *Alphonſo*, that for the common good of *Italie*, ſhe would declare her ſelfe againſt the French: or at leaſt let *Zforza* know how ill at his hands ſhe tooke theſe new motions of warre, to the generall diſturbance of the quiet and peace of that countrie; returnes this anſwer: That it is the office of a wiſe Prince, not to quench the fire in his neighbours houſe, to kindle it in his owne. The like prudence ſhewed *Lodowick* in act, that this State deliuered in deliberation. For, ſuch was his vigilancie and prouidence, to preuent that the enemie might not aſſaile him in *Lombardie* at his owne doores, as that he had ſent the French and Millaneſe troupes (led by *d'Aubigni* and Count *Gaiazzo*) into the Popes State of *Romagna*, before the Arragoneſe forces, were halfe way on their iourney: and by this meanes were forced (contrary to their firſt deſeigne) to make the Seate of the warres in *Romagna*, which were firſt intended for *Lombardie*.

APHORISME XXXV.

Men vſually palliate and couer their vices, vnder the cloake and name of ſome vertue: baſe couetouſneſſe, they call good husbandrie; and prodigalitie, bountie. They bluſh not at the fact, though they be aſhamed of the title. This ſhewes that the ſence of ſhame is one of the ſtrongeſt reſtraints to keepe men from ſinne: and the laſt paſſion that leaues him. He therefore that

that is once paſt this apprehenſion, lets looſe the reines of his owne will, and abandons himſelfe to all manner of miſchiefe.

Horat. 1 *Sic teneros animos aliena opprobria ſæpè Abſterrent vitijs.*——

Virg. Æn. 1. *Tum pudor incendit vires, & conſcia virtus.*

Tacit. An. l. 4 *Contemptu famæ contemnuntur virtutes.*

Cic. ep. l. 5. 2 *Qui ſemel verecundiæ limites tranſiliuit, eum gnauiter impudentem eſſe oportet.*

Eurip. *Maximus omnium morborum, inter homines, Impudentia.*

Xenophon. Ἀναισχωτία μεγίστη ἔπι πάντα ἀισχρὰ ἡγεμών. *i. Impudens Princeps omnium rerum peſsimus.*

Tac. An. l. 11 *Sed animo per libidines corrupto, nihil honeſtum inerat.*

Seneca. *Vbi non eſt pudor, ibi nec cura iuris, ſanctitas, pietas, fides.*

Other actions of Pope *Alexander*, ſhew him deuoide of all grace, but he now ſheweth himſelfe to be likewiſe paſt all ſhame. For, he bluſheth not (being the pretended Head of the Church) to ſend *George Bucciardo* a creature of his owne, with *Camillo Pandone* the meſſenger of *Alphonſo*, to *Baiaſet* the Great Turke, and profeſſed enemie of Chriſtian religion, for armes and aide againſt the French king. And rather then his turne ſhould not be ſerued in time, by the Spaniſh fleete, which could not yet ſet forward for want of money; he conſents and allowes that that money which was leuied in Spaine by the Authoritie Apoſtolicke, for a Crociata againſt the Infidels, ſhould moſt ſacrilegiouſly be transferred from that holy vſe, and employed in this warre of Chriſtians one againſt another.

APHORISME XXXVI.

Truth [1] *and vertue are rather to be embraced and loued for their owne ſakes, then for ours: for that they are good in themſelues, not for the good we get by them.* [2] *Princes therfore, that make no difference betweene truth and falſhood, vertue and vice, but by the vſe: care not whom, or how they deceiue or wrong,*

wrong, ſo they make that vſe. 3 *The actions and counſels of ſuch men, as they are tainted in the nature, ſo are they thwarted in the ſucceſſe: for they alwaies proue dangerous to thoſe that follow them, but eſpecially to the giuers themſelues.*

1 *Rectè factorum verus fructus eſt, feciſſe: Nec vllum virtutibus pretium dignum illis, extra ipſas eſt.* Sen.de Clē. l.1.

Ipſa quidem virtus, ſibimet pulcherrima merces. Sil.l.13.

2 *Sentiunt verum falſo eſſe melius, ſed vtriuſque dignitatem & præſtantiam, ex vſu diſcerni.* Plutarch.

Amicitias, inimicitiaſq́, non ex re, ſed ex commodo æſtimare. Saluſt.Cat.

Decipiunt verbis, literis, legatis, atque adeò ipſos legatos. Lip.pol.l.4.

Eos per quos alium fallere cogitant, fallunt. Sen.Thyeſt.

3 *Quàm benè diſpoſitum terris, vt dignus iniqui*
Fructus conſilij, primis authoribus inſtet? Claudian.

Sæpe Polypus dum carnem Conchæ captat, ipſe capitur. Eraſ.

Praua incœpta, conſultoribus noxæ eſſe, par eſt. Saluſt.Iug.

Ἡ δὲ κακὴ βυλὴ, τῷ βυλεύσαντι κακίστη. *i. Malum conſilium, conſultori peſſimum.* Heſiod.ἐργ.

Sæpe in magiſtrum, ſcelera redierunt ſuum. Sen.Thyeſt.

Οἷ δ' αὐτῷ κακὰ τεύχει ἀνὴρ, ἄλλῳ κακὰ τεύχων. *i. Alteri malum machinatus, ſibijpſi machinatur.* Heſiod.

Lodowick Zforza had giuen in charge to his agent in *Florence*, to encourage *Peter Medici* by all poſſible meanes, in his ſtrict confederation with the king of *Naples*, againſt *Charles* of *France*. Some thinke he did it *bona fide*, becauſe he would vſe the French in *Italie*, but to his owne particular ends. Others ſuppoſe he did it out of his malice, to bereaue *Medici* of all hope of reconciliation with the French. *Peter* acquaints *Alphonſo* with the matter: who aduiſeth him to make this double dealing of the Millaneſe, knowne to the King, and ſo to catch *Lodowick* in his owne ſnare. To this effect *Medici* conueyeth the French Embaſſadour behind the hangings of his bed-chamber: feines himſelfe ſicke: ſends for the Agent: drawes him by diſcourſe to make full relation of his Maſters mind, touching this point. The Embaſſadour ouer-heares all; and writes home to his King, that he is betrayed by *Lodowick*. But the French (not apt to beleeue what they would not were true, and hoping by this meanes to ſet thoſe

Princes further out) acquaints *Lodowick* with the matter, and the manner of the diſcouerie. He, more enraged hereupon with deſpite and reuenge, both againſt *Alphonſo* and *Medici*, then euer before, inſtantly ſollicites the King, to loſe no more time, but with his forces now in readineſſe to ſet vpon *Naples*.

APHORISME XXXVII.

THe[1] diſcourſing power of the ſoule, is the moſt excellent of all her other parts: becauſe the more it conceiueth, and the greater the ſubiect is, the more purely it apprehendeth, and the more perfectly it comprehendeth. Whereas her other faculties, are, by the difficultie of the obiect, or aßiduitie of the intention, dazled, dulled, and ſtupified.[2] Hence is it, that ſecond conſiderations and reſolutions, are more wiſe and more ſafe then the former: becauſe they are grounded vpon reaſons, not at firſt conſidered.

Ariſt. de anima, lib. 3.

1 Ἡ μὲν αἰσθησις οὐ δύναται αἰσθάνεσθαι ἐκ τοῦ σφόδρα αἰσθητοῦ: ἀλλ' ὁ νοῦς, ὅταν τι νοήσῃ σφόδρα νοητὸν, οὐχ ἧττον νοεῖ τὰ ὑποδεέστερα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον. *i. Nam ſenſus non poteſt ſentire poſt vehemens ſenſibile: ſed intellectus cum intellexerit aliquid valde intelligibile, nihilominùs intelligit inferiora, immò etiam magis.*

Sueton. de Aug. cap. 25.

2 *Nil minùs in Duce quàm feſtinationem, conuenire arbitrabatur: trebrò itaque illa iactabat,* σπεῦδε βραδέως: *i. feſtina lentè.*

Scapula.

Δεύτεραι φροντίδες σοφώτεραι. *i. Secundæ cogitationes ſunt ſapientiores.*

Liu. l. 22.

Omnia non properanti clara, certaq; ſunt: feſtinatio improuida eſt & cæca.

Tac. hiſt. l. 2.

Feſtinatio hoſtibus, mora ipſis vtilis.

Curt. l. 8.

Nullus eſt idem diuturnus, & præcox fructus.

Tac. hiſt. l. 1.

Scelera impetu, bona conſilia morâ valeſcunt.

Pro. Lat.

Sat citò, ſi ſat benè.

Senec. ſent.

Velox conſilium ſequitur pœnitentia.

Auſon. fol. 91

Is quippe ſolus rei gerendæ eſt efficax,
Meditatur omne qui priùs negotium.

Charles the 8. had reſolued vpon a voyage for *Naples*. He had prepared two nauies, one at *Genoa*, another at *Marſeilles*. He had alreadie ſent diuers troupes of horſe and foote into *Italy*: the reſt were vpon their march. He had ſetled his affaires at home during

during his abſence. He had compounded his buſines with *Spaine* and the Empire. He is on his way towards *Italy*, as farre as *Dolphenie*. Here, he ſtickes vpon thoſe points, which before he neuer called in queſtion. He conſiders of the ordinarie and neceſſarie difficulties of euery great enterpriſe: of the dangers to enſue, in caſe his Italian confederates ſhould not keepe touch with him: and the impoſſibilitie to carrie ſo great a buſineſſe with ſo ſmall ſtore of money, as he preſently found himſelfe furniſhed withall. This cauſed in him an approbation of their opinions, who firſt diſſwaded this warre: a vacillation in the firſt mouers, and a further pauſe in himſelfe, with a reſolution to ſet no farther forward, till he were better prouided of himſelfe for the enterpriſe, and better aſſured of his Italian confederates.

APHORISME XXXVIII.

ALL[1] *plants and other creatures, haue their growth and increaſe to a period, and then their declination and decay: except onely the Crocodile, who euer groweth bigger and bigger, euen till death.*[2] *So haue all paſsions and perturbations in mans minde, their intentions and remiſsions, increaſe and decreaſe, except onely malicious reuenge. For this, the longer it laſteth, the ſtronger it waxeth, and worketh ſtill, euen when the maligne humours of auarice and ambition are ſetled or ſpent.*[3] *Wherefore ſuch fierie ſpirits as theſe, apter for innouation then adminiſtration, are alwaies moſt dangerous in a State.*

1 *Quidam hoc animal quamdiu viuit, creſcere arbitrantur.* Plin. nat. hiſt l. 8. cap. 25.

2 *Laſciarſi trapportar da gli ſdegni, contra il ben publico, è leggierezza, anzi ſceleratezza.* Por. in Guic.

Qual duro freno, ô qual ferigno nodo,
Qual (s' eſſer può) catena di Diamante,
Farà, che l' ira ſerui ordine e modo,
Che non traſcorra oltre al preſcritto inante.
—— Vengeance,
Qui triſte fait cracquer comme vn ſenglier les dents, Arioſt. cant. 42.

Heriſſe ſes cheueux, roüe or' ſes yeux ardents,
Or' les attache a terre.—

Am.Plu.Cic. *Deſir de vengeance viole nature, & humanité.*
Id.Anton. *Difficile eſt ſe deſpeſtre des filez d'vn malicieux.*
Am.Plu.Cic. *Les Factieux ne peuuent ſouffrir, qu'on leur face teſte, & taſchent de s'en venger auec des armes deſcouuertes.*

Lip.pol.l.3. 3 *Nouandis quàm gerendis rebus aptiores.*
Thucyd.l.1. *In id nati, vt nec ipſi quieſcant, nec alios ſinant.*
Cat.in Sal. *Quoniam quidem circumuentus, ab inimicis præceps agor, incendium meum ruina extinguam.*

Saluſt.Iug. *Ira & ægritudo permiſta cum maxima cura, vltum ire iniurias feſtinat.*
Calpur. *Sceleratis ingenijs, & plus quàm ciuilia agitantibus, non dominari, inſtar ſeruitutis eſt.*

Iulian della Rouere a fatall inſtrument of troubles to his countrie, and the chiefe worker of the broiles in *Italie*, both now while he is Cardinall, and after when he is Pope, blowes afreſh the coales of warre, when they were raked vp in the cold embers of diſtruſt and feare, and almoſt dead in the heart of the French king: whom he neuer leaues with his importunate inſtigations, till he had againe ſet his heart on fire, with the impetuous furie of following his firſt reſolution, againſt the Pope and kingdome of *Naples*.

APHORISME XXXIX.

THe[1] *nature of the Baſiliske, is to kill all trees and ſhrubs it breathes vpon; and to ſcorch and burne all herbes and graſſe it paſſeth ouer.*[2] *Such are the effects of warre. For, be the title neuer ſo cleare, and the cauſe iuſt, yet the meanes are not without fire and ſword: nor the end without horrour and bloudſhed.*[3] *Peace therefore is to be preferred; ſo it be not with the blemiſh of the Princes honour, or preiudice of the publicke good.*

Plin.nat.hiſt. l.8.cap.21. 1 *Necat frutices, non contactos modò, verùm & afflatos: exurit herbas, rumpit ſaxa.*
Sen.Her.fur. 2 *Si æterna ſemper odia mortales gerant,*
Nec captus vnquam cedat ex animo furor;
Sed arma fœlix teneat, infœlix paret:

Nihil

Nihil relinquent bella. Tum vaſtis ager
Squallebit aruis, ſubdita tectis face,
Altus ſepultas obruet Gentes cinis.

Le Deſordre, l' Effroy, le Deſeſpoir, la Fuyte, Bartas fur.
Ailez marchent deuant ſon meurtrier Exercite,
Comme l' Embraſement, l' Orgueil, l' Impieté,
La Rage, le Diſcord, le Sac, l' Impunité,
La Cruauté, l' Horreur, le Degaſt, la Ruine,
L' accompagnent par tout, ou barbare elle chemine:
Le Dueil, la Solitude, auec la Pauureté,
Suyuent les pas ſanglants, de ſon Oſt indompté.

3 *Melior tutior q; certa Pax, quàm ſperata victoria: Illa in tua: hæc, deorum in manu eſt.* Liu.l.30.

—— Pax optima rerum, Sil.l.11.
Quas homini nouiſſe datum eſt: pax vna triumphis
Innumeris potior.——

Non cognoſce la Pace, & non la ſtima, Arioſt.cant.
Chi prouato non ha la guerra prima. 31.

Iniuſtiſsimam pacem iuſtiſsimo bello antefero. Cic.ad Attic
Nulla ſalus bello, pacem te poſcimus omnes. Vir.Æn.11.
Candida pax homines, trux decet ira feras. Ouid.art.3.
Non expedit concutere fælicem ſtatum. Senec.Oed.

Charles the 8. was right heire to the houſe of *Aniou*, and hereby his claime direct to the kingdome of *Naples*. In this his iuſt quarrell he paſſed the Alpes, by the mountaine *Gineura*, with warre in his heart, and the meanes in his hands. After that, *Lewes* the 12. entred *Italie*, to conquer *Millan*, whereto he alſo layed claime, and wanne it. The effects of which expeditions were theſe: Subuerſion of States: deſolation of countries: demolition of townes: occiſion of people. New lawes: new cuſtomes: new habits: new diſeaſes: and all that the extremitie of warre, and the inſolencie of a Victor could inflict.

APHORISME XL.

A Buſineſſe well begun, is halfe ended. Wherefore it much imports to the happie, or deſaſtrous iſſue of any affaire, what manner of entrance and beginning we make, eſpecially in that of warre. For, good ſucceſſe in the firſt encounter, greatly aduanceth the maine of our buſineſſe; and takes away both courage and reputation, yea and reſolution from the loſing ſide. Herein therefore ought to conſiſt the chiefe care of a Generall.

Adag.Eraſ. Πλεὸν ἥμισυ παντὸς. *i. Dimidium plus toto.*
Hor.l.1.ep.2 *Dimidium facti, qui benè cœpit habet.*
Paſtor.fid. *Chi ben comincia, ha la metà dell' opra,*
Et non ſi comincia ben ſe non dal cielo.
Pro.Lat. *Bonum principium, dimidium totius.*
Por.in Guic. *I ſucceſsi della Guerra, dependono in gran parte, dalla riputazione.*
Tac.An.13. *Fama in nouis cœptis validiſsima eſt.*
Id.An.12. *Primis euentibus, metus aut fiducia gignitur.*

Don Frederick, after his returne from *Porto-Venere* to *Ligorne*, repaires his ſhips, refreſheth his armie, re-enforceth his troupes, returnes: giues vpon *Rappallo*: carries the place: *San Seuerino* and *Iohn Adorno*, with part of the land-forces, and the Duke of *Orleans*, with a thouſand Swiſſe, by ſea (drawne all out of *Genoa*) make to the ſuccours, to impeach the enemies further proceeding. They aſſaile the Arragoneſe with excellent reſolution. Theſe receiue their firſt impreſſion, with no leſſe valour. Victorie ſtands long as neuter, vnreſolued to which ſide to incline: vntill at length the artillery from the ſhips playing vpon the Neapolitans in flank, and ſore galling them, and the alarme of *Iohn Fieſcos* approch with freſh ſupplies to the French, diſorders their troupes, and puts them to rout. *Iulian Orſini* a commander of a troupe of Lances, *Fregoſino* the ſonne of Cardinall *Fregoſo*, and *Orlandino* of the ſame houſe, with many moe men of marke, are taken priſoners: more ſlaine: ſome drowned: the reſt recouer their ſhippes. *Don Frederick* himſelfe, with his broken troupes, beares backe

backe againe for *Ligorne*: where, though he had prouided himselfe of new supplies, and new matter of attempt was propounded to him, yet durst he neuer after vndertake any; but quite abandons the coast of *Genoa*, and giues the enemy iust cause to triumph ouer his losse, and insult ouer his feare.

APHORISME XLI.

HE[1] that entertaines an armie of Auxiliaries, takes a Wolfe by the eares: there is danger in holding him, and more in letting him go. And in a State where Legionaries are ordained, the Subiect will be liable to any tailly or imposition, rather then suffer such troupes to be quartered or billetted vpon them.[2] A wise Prince therefore, albeit he must vse their seruice, yet he will buy their absence though at a great rate, and vse all possible meanes to keepe them farre off.

1 *Auribus Lupum tenere.* Pro. Lat.

2 *Le but d' vn bon Prince est, de chasser les soldats loin de terres de ses Subiects, & Alliez.* Am. in Plut.

C' est estre vn bon Capitaine, d' empescher que la guerre n'entre en son pais, & n'y permettre pas la longue demeurée d'vne Armée, voire, de ses bons amis & alliez. Agesil.

Venalesq; manus, ibi fas vbi maxima merces. Idē. Phocion

Non fide, non affectu tenentur, vt velint dominationi alienæ sanguinem suum commodare. Lucan.

Sunt Populatores terræ, quam à populationibus vindicare debebant. Tac. Agric.

Verè Hirundines AErarij. Curt. l. 3.

Qui canem alit peregrinum, huic præter funem nihil fit reliqui. Cic. ad Attic.

Neque Principes neque Resp. sine periculo vti posse auxiliario ac mercenario milite. Eras. fol. 293. Mac. dis. l. 2. cap. 20.

In the moneth of September, the Dukes of *Millan* and *Ferrara*, come to the French king at *Asti*, a frontier towne of the Duchie of *Millan*. They treat of their great affaires: and resolue of the manner of proceeding, and carrying the warre. The Millanese fearing (if winter grew vpon them) that the French armie would not dislodge, but lie vpon his country all the winter, till

till the next Spring, ſupplies the King preſently with great ſummes of money (the onely cauſe of his ſtaying) for his more ſpeedie departing. And ſo got his countrie eaſed of ſo heauie a burthen.

APHORISME XLII.

Worth[1] *is valewed by the qualitie, not the greatneſſe of a thing. For, as the goodneſſe of a fortreſſe conſiſteth rather in this, that the parts be one to another conformable, and in diſtance anſwerable, then that they be vnproportionably great and capacious:* [2] *So the ſtrength of an armie, ſtands more in the valour, and good order of the combattants, then in the number. Againſt which number, are theſe two principall aduantages, great Ordinance, and good Ordonnance.*

Rag.Stat.l.9 1 *Si come la bontà d' vna Fortezza, conſiſte più nella forma, che nella materia: Così la forza d' vn Eſſercito, ſta più preſto nell' ordine, che nel numero ô altera coſa.*

Lip.pol.l 5. 2 *Nunquam bonos forteſq; Milites habebis, niſi hæc duo velut inſtrumenta adhibeas, Delectum & Diſciplinam.*

Senec. *Multitudo non vires habet, ſed pondus.*

Syneſ. ep.79 χειρῶν δεῖ πολλῶν πολέμῳ, καὶ ὀνομάτων πολλῶν. *i. Manibus multis, non nominibus, opus eſt in bello.*

Galba in Ta. *Peccant hìc qui emunt militem, non legunt.*

Veget.l.1.c.8 *In omni conflictu, non tam prodeſt multitudo, quàm virtus.*

Tacit.An.14. *Etiam in multis legionibus, pauci ſunt qui prælia profligant.*

Valer.l.2.c.7 *Diſciplina Maiorum, Rempub. tenet: Quæ ſi dilabatur, & nomen Romanum, & Imperium amittimus.*

Cuſpin.34. *Diſce miles militare, Galba eſt, non Getulicus.*

Boetius. *Sic quod præcipiti via*
Certum deſerat ordinem,
Lætos non habet exitus.

The French had this oddes vpon the enemie, they brought great ſtore of Canon with them: an inſtrument of warre ſcarce heard of in *Italie*, and therefore more feared. As for the men at armes, (which were all *des Ordonnances du Roy*) they were not of

of the populaſſe and vulgar ſort, but of the nobleſſe or gentrie. Their troupes full, and in good equipage of horſe and armes: Men, out of their owne birth and education, carried to all noble attempts, through deſire of honour, and hope of aduancement: Their Commanders great Lords, and but of hundreds at the moſt: All naturall ſubiects to their Chiefe, and himſelfe among them in perſon: and they vnder his pay immediatly, and therefore in no danger to quit their colours, either through ambition or auarice: nor in feare of concurrence or competition with other Captaines, to be aduanced to a greater conduct or charge. VVhereas on the other ſide, many of the Italian men at armes, were either Peſants or Plebeians, or vaſſals to other Princes, wholly depending vpon their owne Captains, with whom they couenanted for their entertainment, and in whoſe power it was to caſſe, or keepe them: ſo as neither by nature, nor circumſtance, they had any extraordinarie motiue to performe good ſeruice. Beſides, the Captaines themſelues, being ſeldome his naturall ſubiects, who entertained them, had their proper ends, full of iealouſies and heart-burnings one with another: and being mercenary, neuer had their companies ſtrong; and often proued not onely vnconſtant, but vnfaithfull to them they ſerued.

APHORISME XLIII.

AN[1] *In-mate lodged in the middle ſtage of a building, is troubled with noiſe, and fall of vrine, or other filth, from them that dwell aboue him: or with ſmoake, from them in the neather roome. In ſuch ſtreights is the Neuter, and ſo he fareth betweene two Princes vp in armes.*[2] *This third therefore, a confiner, and weaker then either; as he muſt of neceſſitie adhere to the one: ſo ought he deferre to declare himſelfe, till the times be fit.*

1 *Detto del Re Alphonſo contra i Saneſi, neutrali nella guerra d' Italia: & poi da' Soldati dell' vna Fazione & dell' altra, predati.* Ammir. l. 18.

Pro.Ital. *Questi tali sono tra l' incudine, e'l martello. Inter Saxum & Sacrum.*

Vir.eclog.9. *Mantua, væ miseræ nimiùm vicina Cremonæ.*

Lucan.de Arim.lib.1. *O malè vicinis hæc mœnia condita Gallis,*
O tristi damnata loco.

Liu.l.34. 2 *Inter vtrumque neuter, non media via est, sed nulla.*

Liu.l.19. *Ita medium se gerendo, nec Plebis vitauit odium Seruilius, nec apud Patres gratiam iniit: Appius verò Patribus mirè gratus.*

Arist.in Liu. *Romanos aut socios habere oportet, aut hostes: media via nulla est.*

Macc.Prin. c.21. *Si inter se duo potentes confligant, tuam qui attingunt regionem, qualescunque illi fuerint, siue quòd altero debellato, tibi sit à victore timendum, siue non, vtilius semper erit, si te patefacto apertum bellum geras.*

Boter.de Neutral. *E' meglio cader con vn compagno, ô mettersi in auuentura di vincere, dichiarandosi, che à certezza di restar oppresso da chiunque vincerà l' impresa, non si dichiarando.*

Quint.in Liu.35. *Quod optimum esse dicunt, non interponi vos bello, nihil tam vanum, immò tam alienum, rebus vestris est: quippe sine gratia, sine dignitate præda victoris eritis.*

Mac.Pr.c.21 *Quod optimum atque ex vsu vestræ Reip. (Achiuorum) maximè fore isti Legati Antiochi dicunt (ne vos scilicet hoc nostro bello implicemini) nihil est quod vobis magis sit contrarium.*

The *Colonnesi*, whose Seignories and States lay neare the king of *Naples*, (and therefore in danger, vnlesse they entred into a partie) had secretly contracted with the French king. *Alphonso* sollicites them to his side, by all possible meanes. They delay him, with asking vnreasonable demands. He grants all they can desire. They temporize yet longer, still bearing him in hand, of their willingnesse to quit the French seruice, and follow his fortunes, till *d'Aubigni* with all his troupes was come downe into *Lombardie*. Now they declare themselues. They surprise the strong rocke of *Ostia*, through intelligence they had with some Spaniards in the place. They valiantly defend *Nettuno* a Port of their owne, besieged by the ioynt forces of the Pope and *Alphonso*. They are presently relieued, and the siege raised by *Camillo Vitelli*, and his brother, whom the French sent to that seruice. VVhereas if they had broke out any sooner, those forces of the enemie must needs haue ouerthrowne them, before these succours could haue come at them.

APHORISME XLIIII.

THere[1] is no warrant to runne an extreme hazard, ſaue onely extreme neceſsitie.[2] And therefore a wiſe Generall neuer puts his fortunes vpõ one daies trial, nor ventures all his reſt, vpon one doubtfull chance of battell: where he foreſees by all military inductiõ, that he may obtaine his purpoſe without blowes.

1 *De vita & regno velut ad caſum Aleæ periclitari, ſtultitiæ eſt, & vanitatis.* Stobæus.

Capienda non niſi rebus in arduis, præceps via eſt. Seneca.

Nullo loco niſi quantum neceſsitas cogit, committat ſe fortunæ. Liuij. 22.

Paulus AEmilius dixit, perrarò nimis bonum Imperatorem, ſignis collatis decertare, niſi ſumma neceſsitudo, aut ſumma ei occaſio data eſſet. Agell. Noct. l. 13. cap. 3.

Sono incertiſsime più che tutte gl' altre attioni humane, gl' euenti della battaglia. Guicc.

2 *Pridiè caueat, ne faciat quod ſe pigeat poſtridiè.* Plaut. Stich.

Animus vereri qui ſcit, ſcit tutò aggredi. Publ.

——— *Nec triſtibus impar,*
Nec pro ſucceſſu tumidus, ſpatiumq́; morandi,
Vincendiq́; modum, mutatis noſcit habenis. Claudian.

Fortunam inter dubia, virtutem inter certa numerare. Tacit. de Ger

The two armies, French and Neapolitan, are come downe into *Romagna*: yong *Ferdinand* marcheth towards *Imola*, where the enemy was encamped. *D'Aubigni* retires betweene the wood of *Lugo* and *Columbara*, neare the trenches of *Geniuolo*, a very ſtrong place. The Neapolitan Prince finding the diſaduantage, diſlodgeth from *Imola* to *Toſcanella*. *D'Aubigni* vpon the others riſing, remoues againe towards *Imola*: ſets downe vpon the riuer *Santerno*, betweene *Lugo* and *S. Agatha*: hauing the *Pò* at his backe, a ſcite ſtronger then the former. The enemie comes vpon the ſame riuer, neare *Mordano* and *Bubano*; and in ranged order of battell, preſents himſelfe to fight. *D'Aubigni* would not out of his ſtrength: the other durſt not force him, but retires to *Barbiano*. By this time a great ſupply of ſouldiers are come to

the French. They are now as ſtrong as the enemie, yet ſtill they refuſe to trie their fortunes: and ſo do now the Neapolitans alſo. They both perſwade themſelues to haue obtained the end of their coming thither: for *Ferdinand* had impeached the French armie from taking any townes in *Romagna*; and ſtopped his farther proceeding for that yeare. And *d'Aubigni* came for no other end, but to hinder the Neapolitan armie from inuading *Lombardie*.

APHORISME XLV.

AS poiſon is of ſuch force, that it corrupteth both bloud and ſpirit, beſieging, ſeizing, and infecting the heart with the venemous contagion thereof, quite altering the complexion and diſpoſition of the man that hath drunke it: So the peſtiferous deſire of Soueraigntie, though it ſeize on a minde of milde and manſuete diſpoſition, yet it is of ſuch forcible operation, as it not onely altereth mans nature, but maketh man vnnaturall.

Guicuin.l.2. 1 *Venenum præcipuè inſidiatur cordi.*

Cic. 2 *Facillimè ad res iniuſtas impellitur, quiſquis eſt altiſſimo animo, & gloriæ cupido.*

Virg. *Regnandi Dira cupido.*

Seneca. *Vrit miſerum gloria pectus.*

Liu.l.28. *Maximum cupiditas imperij malum, inter mortales eſt.*

Saluſt.Iug. *Famæ, fidei, poſtremò omnibus rebus, commodum ſuum anteponunt.*

Parut.l.2. diſ 15. *L'Ambizione è tale infirmità, ne gl' animi humani, che oue vna volta ha fermato le radici, ſe non è à viua forza & per neceſsità, ſuelta non gli laſcia mai liberi & ſani: Anzi col tempo creſcendo il male, gli rende quaſi farnetici: ſi che ogni coſa l' ambizioſo appetiſce, & di niuna ſi troua ſatollo, non hauendo miſura ne freno.*

Arioſt. — *L'Ambizioſo*
Ha la natura ſi ſeluagia & ria
Che mai non empie la bramoſa voglia,
E doppo il paſto ha più fame che pria.

Boet.de con *Heu gauem ſortem, quoties iniquus*
Additur ſæuo gladius veneno?

Heu

— Heu dulce venenum
Et mundi lethalis honos.—

Maph. Supp. in Virg.

Lodowick Zforza a man naturally inclining to mildneſſe, and abhorring bloudſhed, was by Ambition ſo farre carried beyond his nature, as he ſpared not the life of his owne nephew and Liege Lord, who was taken away by poiſon, as *Theodore di Pauia* a Phyſition of good eſteeme, proteſted: and by his vnnaturall Vnkle, as the world verily beleeued. The chiefe Counſellors of that State, were ſuborned by him (vnder pretence forſooth of the dangerous times) to transferre the Soueraigntie of that State vpon him. He, for faſhions ſake ſeemed vnwilling to vndertake ſo great a charge, and made ſemblance of diſabilitie to vndergo ſo weightie a burthen. But this pretence was without all colour, to them which truly conſidered his former courſes, and vnderſtood how he had trafficked with the Emperour long before to that purpoſe.

APHORISME XLVI.

Who puts to ſea for a long iourney, and at a great charge, muſt reſolue to hold on his courſe, againſt all winds and weather, or accidents, that may offer to ſtoppe him. So a Prince farre engaged in a great action, muſt wraſtle with all difficulties, rather then quit the enterpriſe. Better it were to foreſee the dangers at firſt, and preuent them, or deſiſt from the motion. [2] *But being once embarqued, on he muſt, whether he winne or loſe, with a Cæſarian confidence at the Rubicon, and a Spartan reſolution, to go on with the ſword, or fall on the ſword. For in this, he puts his fortunes vpon triall: but in the other, is manifeſt ſhame and loſſe.*

1 *Verùm ſi incipias, neque perficias gnauiter, nihilo plus agas, quàm ſi des operam, vt cum ratione inſanias. (hæc ille de amore, idem de bello.)* Terent. Eun.

Mars communis, & victum ſæpe erigit, & affligit victorem. Liu. l. 28.

Τολμᾶν ἀνάγκη κἂν τύχω, κἂν μὴ τύχω. *i. Pugnare neceſſe eſt, ſeu paratus, ſeu imparatus.* Sent. Græc.

Egeſ.l.4.c.2. *Infirmi ingenij eſt, ſummæ rei diffidere, lapſu aliquo: cùm exiguis momentis, ſubitò inclinentur omnia, quæ in bello geruntur.*

Flor.l.1.c.5. *Omnia experiri oportet, more Anguium, qui obtrito capite, poſtremò caudâ minantur.*

Sil.l.1. *Et fractis rebus, violentior vltima virtus.*

Plut.apopth. Ἢ τάδε, ἢ ἐπὶ τάδε. *Aut hanc, aut ſuper hanc. Laconicarum mulierum dictum, viris ſuis in bellum proficiſcentibus.*

Pro.Hiſp. *Ozar morir da la vida.*

The French king is come to *Placentia*: he wanteth money: he diſcouers no reuolt, or innouation in his fauour: he hath certaine intelligence, that *Zforza* (for all his proteſtations) will come no more at him. His whole Court hath in ſuſpition the faith, and in horrour the fact of this Duke, committed vpon his nephew. They thinke the King greatly abuſed, and his honour ſcandalized, whoſe coming into thoſe parts, countenanced and ſecured ſo abhominable a parricide. They all perſwade his preſent returne into *France*. The King ſtands a while like the Romane at the riuer, in diſpute what to do. But at laſt reſolues to go on howſoeuer he ſpeed.

APHORISME XLVII.

Men [1] in diſgrace with the State, and diſlike of the preſent times, ſeeke their reuenge from the common enemie. Who likes well of their motion, accepts their offer of ſeruice and meanes, and embraceth the action: [2] Not for their good that moue it, but becauſe he findes it ſtand with his owne aduantage.

Tac.hiſt.l.5. 1 *Miſcere omnia, & priuata vulnera, Reip. malis operire ſtatuunt.*

Liu.l.34. *Pars quæ domeſtico certamine inferior eſt, externo potiùs ſe applicat, quàm ciui cedat.*

Cic.Cat.2. *Honores quos quieta Repub. deſperant, perturbata conſequi poſſe arbitrantur.*

Am.Plu.Artax. *Les traiſtres ſont bien venus, pres de ceux, qui tirent grand profit de leurs trahiſons.*

Am.Plu.Diõ *Touſiours les mutins veulent auoir moyen de ſe nourir en ſes inſolences.*

Tac.An.l.1. 2 *Proditores, etiam iis quos anteponunt, inuiſi ſunt.*

Leui

Leui poſt admiſſum ſcelus gratia, dein graniore odio.
Προδεδόντας φιλεῖν, προδεδωκότας μισεῖν: i. *Amare ſe prodentes, odiſſe verò quum prodiderint. – dixit.*

Tac. An. l. 14. Antig. apud Plut.

Laurence and *Iulian Medici*, confined to their houſes in the country, ſteale ouer the *Appennine*, to the French king. They ſollicite him to march with his armie through the Florentine ſtate, in his way to *Naples*. They aſſure him of the peoples deuotion, and their owne particular affection and ſeruice to the Crowne of *France*. The King might haue taken the way of *Romagna*: ſo by the Marquiſate of *Ancona*, and ouer the riuer *Tronto*: thence into *Abbruzzo*, a Prouince of the kingdome. For the forces that *Alphonſo* had that way, were ſcarce able to make head againſt his Van-guard led by *d'Aubigny*. Yet vpon this motion he reſolues vpon the way by *Toſcana*, and the territories of *Rome*: holding it more for his honour, with banner diſplayed to march through the heart of his enemies countries, then to giue them occaſion to vaunt, that feare had driuen him another way. Beſides, he held it a chiefe principle of warre, *not to carrie his armie ſo farre, and to leaue at his backe thoſe places vnaſſured.*

APHORISME XLVIII.

THE Orator placeth his ſtrongeſt arguments in the firſt entrance of his Plea, to perſwade and confirme the auditorie. So ſhould a Generall bend all his beſt forces vpon the firſt piece he attempteth, to animate and encourage his ſouldiers, and to giue reputation to the action he intendeth. For firſt, actions make deepeſt impreſſions, either of feare or courage. He is therefore ſo much to tender his reputation at the firſt onſet, as to leaue nothing behind him vnbroken, but that which bendeth.

Inſtandum famæ: nam prout prima ceſſerint, ſuccedent vniuerſa.
La riputazione & la fama, importano aſſai in ogni noſtra operazione, ma principalmente, nelle coſe della guerra.
Principibus præcipua rerum, ad famam dirigenda.

Tacit. l. 12. Parut. l. 1. diſ. 2.

Tac. An. l. 3.

Fama

Curt.l.8. Liu.l.27. *Famâ bella constant.*
Fama bellum conficit, & parua momenta in spem, metúmve, impellunt animos.

Tacit.An.3. Plut. Grace. Id.Phocion. *Non minùs fama, quàm vi, stant res Principum.*
Estre en bonne opinion entre ses ennemys, sert plus que grande force.
La bonne reputation d'vn Chef, est cause d'vn grand bien pour son armée.

The French armie is come into *Toscany*, by the neather way of *Pontremoli*, which standeth at the foote of the mountaines vpon *Magra*, (a riuer that diuides this country from *Liguria*) it is to passe by *Serezzana*, a towne well fortified, but the garrison weake, and the Gouernour of small authoritie, and lesse credit. *Serezanello* a rocke right ouer the towne, was a peece impregnable, if it had bene well manned: seated in a barren streight, betweene the *Appennine* and the sea; by which meanes it did much pinch and angustiate the armie with want of victuals. The King might haue left these two Peeces vnattempted, and made a maine forward on his iourney for *Naples*, either by *Pisa*, or some other important place in the Florentine State, and haue taken them in, by the way. But he, to giue reputation to his armie, and to make the world thinke, that no place of strength was able to stand before him; or, least others should take heart to oppose him, by this example; he sets downe before the place, with full resolution not to depart, till the siege were raised, or the place carried.

APHORISME XLIX.

IN[1] *the Salentine country, there is a lake brim-full: put in neuer so much, it runneth not ouer; draw out what you can, it is still full.*[2] *Such is the nature of a constant man, resolued to all fortunes.*[3] *Whereas the man who beares his prosperitie, neither with moderation nor prudence, but is full blowne like a bladder, with the winde of his owne pride; he seldome in aduersitie shewes either constancie or courage: one pricke of desaster empties his swolne heart*

heart of all hopes: and like an vnskilfull and deiected ſea-man, vpon euery litle ſtorme he cuts Cable and Maſt, and throwes all ouer boord; where, but the ſlaking of ſome few ſailes would ſerue.

1 *In Salentino, iuxta oppidum Manduriam, lacus eſt ad margines plenus: qui neque exhauſtis aquis minuitur, neque infuſis augetur.* Plin.nat. hiſt l.2.c.103.

2 *Is demum vir erit, cuius animum nec proſpera flatu ſuo efferant: nec aduerſa infringant.* Liu.l.45.

AEquam memento rebus in arduis
Seruare mentem: non ſecus in bonis
Ab inſolenti temperatam letitia. Hor.2.car.3.

Si nihil poſsis ſperare, deſperes nihil. Seneca.

3 *Calamitas querula eſt, & ſuperba fœlicitas.* Liu.lib.44.

Rebus ſecundis auidi, aduerſis incauti. Tacit.An.l.1.

Sunt molles in calamitate, mortalium animi. Tacit.l.1.

Quem res plus nimio delectauere ſecundæ,
Mutatæ quatient.—— Horat.

Caſibus aduerſis fracta qui mente recumbit,
Fortuna ignorat dexteriore frui. Fauſt.

Humilis & paruus animus, proſperitatibus effertur: aduerſis autem rebus deprimitur. Epicar.

Εὐτυχῶν ὑπερήφανος, ἀτοξῶν ταπεινὸς. *i. Superbiens ſecundis, deiectus aduerſis.* Thucyd.

Πρὸς μὲν τοὺς ταπεινοτέρους καλαπληκτικώτατος, καὶ τολμηρότερος: πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας κολακικώτατος. *i. Aduerſus inferiores ſeuerus maximè, & ſuperbus, erga ſuperiores imprimis adulator.* Polyb.

Peter Medici vpon no imminent neceſſitie, nor apparent good to the State, had tied himſelfe to *Alphonſoes* fortunes: had ſcornfully reiected the counſell of the grauer Citizens: had deſperately prouoked the armes and enmitie of *France* and *Millan* againſt him: had imprudently fore-ſlaked the fortifying of his countrey, and making ſure the paſſages: had improuidently fore-ſlowed the raiſing of ſouldiers, and prouiſion of armes: had ſlept ſupinely in all careleſneſſe, and boaſted vainly in his ſecuritie. But now that the wheele is turned, the French forces at his doores, the Arragoneſe ſuccours farre off, and himſelfe deſtitute of all poſſible and preſent helpe: he ſeekes that at his enemies hands, which he could not haue of his friends: he buyes his peace, and the protection of his State, in a ſubmiſſe and humble

manner, and at a high and hard rate: he renders vp *Serezzana*, *Serezzanello*, and *Pietra-Santa*, for caution of his faith, till the Kings returne from his conqueſt of *Naples*: he vndertakes to procure him the Impreſt of one hundred thouſand Duckats, out of the citie of *Florence*; and to conſigne the fortreſſes of *Piſa* and *Ligorne* into his hands. And more would *Medici* haue granted, if the King had demanded more: who ere while would haue bene glad of his friendſhip, and alliance with that State, vpon farre eaſier termes.

APHORISME L.

NE[1] *miſchiefe or loſſe comes ſeldome alone, but followes like billowes, one in the necke of another. In which Tide of misfortune, men are in few dayes more ouer-whelmed with the waues of damage and trouble, then they can (after) free themſelues of, in the ebbe of many yeares. And therefore they crie out on their Starres, and raile at Fortune, who is ſo barren of her fauours, and fruitfull otherwiſe: whereas the ſtarres may rather complaine of them, who are neuer with any good fortune ſatisfied, nor by many deſaſtrous accidents warned.*[2] *But wiſe men (in this ſence) do gouerne the ſtarres.*

Sen. 1 *Finis alterius mali, gradus eſt futuri.*

Guicc. *Il più delle volte, l' Auuerſità, non vanno ſole.*

Guazz. *I mali, non vengono mai ſcompagnati.*

Liu.l.30. *Vim fortunæ reputa, & omnia quæ agimus, ſubiecta eſſe mille caſibus.*

Curt.l.8. *Quotidiè experimur, quàm caduca fœlicitas ſit.*

Tacit.An.1. *Cuncta mortalium incerta: quantoq; plus adeptus ſis, tanto magis in lubrico te cenſeas.*

Sen.Thyeſt. *Quem dies vidit veniens ſuperbum,*
Hunc dies vidit fugiens iacentem.

Am.Plut. Agis. *Si toſt que l' auuerſité a commencé à ſaiſir vn homme au colet, elle continue ſes ſecouſſes, par les quelles il ne tombe pas à la premiere, ni à la ſeconde; mais en fin il eſt conſtraint, de prendre le ſaut.*

Plaut.Trin. 2 *Sapiens pol ipſe fingit fortunam ſibi.*

Pro.Lat. *Sapiens dominabitur aſtris.*

Fortuna ius in hominis mores non habet. Senec.ſent.
Fatum congruere rebus putant, ſed non è vagis ſtellis, verùm apud principia & nexus naturalium cauſarum. Tacit.An.l.6
Si in ſecundis rebus bonam quoque mentem darent Dij, non ea ſolùm quæ euenìſſent, ſed etiam quæ euenire poſſent, reputaremus. Liu.l.30.

Alphonſo had failed in the oppugnation of *Nettuno:* his Sea-forces were ſore ſhaken at *Porto-Venere;* and forced to abandone the enterpriſe of *Liguria.* His ſtrict allie *Medici* had forſaken him, and made his peace with the French. So did *Riario* the Lord of *Imola* and *Furlì.* He had loſt the ſtrong towne of *Mordano*: and his armie in *Romagna* much weakned in that fruitleſſe voyage, was retired by the way of *Rome*, into the kingdome of *Naples.* Theſe deſaſters ſucceeded immediatly one in the necke of another: and then the flight from his kingdome, the cataſtrophe and full ſumme of all his misfortunes.

APHORISME LI.

INſolent [1] *carriages, in the moſt eminent perſon of a free-State, againſt any particular man or familie, are long with patience endured, and by his popularitie and dependance of friends, ſtrongly borne out.* [2] *But when his errours come once to touch the publick, and preiudice the generall good of the common-wealth, then euery member is ſenſible of the wrong, and puts a helping hand to his downe-fall.*

1 *Tales iſti potentiam ſuam non benè ferunt, & ideo nec diù ferunt.* Lip.Pol.l.3.
Parcè vtere poteſtate tua, vt diù vtare. Sen. de ira.
Vide ne dum ad cacumen venire contendis, vnà cum ipſis ramis quos deprehendis, decidas. Curt.
Vide ne quantò altiùs elatus es, hoc fœdiùs corruas. Liu.l.21.
In ſecundis rebus, nihil in quemquam ſuperbè ac violenter conſulere decet, nec præſenti credere fortunæ, cùm quid veſper ferat, incertum ſit. Liu.l.45.
Impone fœlicitati tuæ frenos, facilìùs eam reges. Curt.l.7.
Arbores magnæ diù creſcunt, vna hora extirpantur. Scyth.Alex.
2 *Non ſi può dar precetto meglio, quando ſi vuole rimediar à vno inconueniente, il quale ſia ſotto in vno Stato, per la molta potenza & autorità d' alcuno,* Ammin.l.5.

che di mozzargli quelli mezzi & istromenti, per i quali, egli à quella autorità perueniua.

Plat.de Leg. l.12. Ἐὰν τις ἰδία ποιῆται πρὸς τίνας εἰρήνην, ἢ πόλεμον, ἄνευ τοῦ Κοινῆ, θάνατος ἔστω ζημία. *i. Si quis priuatim, sine publico Scito, pacem, bellúmve fecerit, capitale esto.*

Cic.4.Att.1. *Pinnas his incidas oportet, ne possint renasci.*

Plato. *Populus leuiter alicuius rei satur, & qui in huius societatem se adiungit, miser est.*

Haill.Est.l.2. *La Fureur des peuples est à craindre, à ceux qui sont leurs Chefs, si en tout il ne leur complaisent.*

Idem.lib.3. *Il sentit bien, que la foy des peuples sent mal, & qu'il ne faut se parfumer de drogue si puante.*

Infinite had bene the insolencies and transgressions of *Peter Medici*, towards diuers particular citizens, and those of the Nobilitie, and better sort, yet he still held his greatnesse: till now that he had made a contract of peace and amitie with the French king, most preiudiciall to his country: without the consent of other magistrates & chiefe citizens; decree of the Councell, or commission from the State. This wound could in no wise be salued: the whole citie condemnes it: his friends durst not excuse him: the commons stirre vp one another to recouer their libertie: *Iacob Neri* keepes him out of the Councell chamber, offering to come in. The citie riseth in armes: the Senate proclaimes him rebell: he flieth with his two brethren, *Iohn* and *Iulian*: leauing the noble family of the *Medici* ouerthrowne, by the insolencie and rashnesse of one yong man, which for threescore yeares together had had chiefe stroke in the manage of those publicke affaires, and for many yeares before had flourished in all fulnesse of wealth and reputation.

APHORISME LII.

IT [1] *is then sure trusting, when we take from a man all meanes of breaking. For the prouerbe saith, that a true man can scarce hold his fingers, if he finde a chest open.* [2] *As therefore it is a staine to the honour of a Prince, not to keepe his word and couenant:* [3] *So*

is

is it no leſſe blemiſh to the wiſedome of a State, in time of iuſt ſuſpect, not to preuent and ſtop the meanes of breaking it: or not to take pledges of the diſcontented and ſuſpected ſubiect, as well in ſuch iealous times, as formerly in caſes of leſſe danger.

1 *Satis eſt ſi hoc habemus, ne quis nobis malefacere poſsit.* Aug. in Suet ca. 51.

Multorum, quia imbecilla ſunt, latent vitia: non minùs auſuri cum illis vires ſuæ placuerint. Sen. ep 42.

A caſſa aperta il giuſto pecca. Pro. Ital.

2 *O Reges, ne rumpite fœdera pacis: nec Regnis poſtferte fidem.* Sil. l. 32.

3 *Dulcis inexpertis cultura potentis amici,*
Expertus metuet.— Horat.

Aliqui ſuſpectum habent Regum nomen, vt fraudulentum in pactionibus. Dion. Halyc.

Nam quanquam ſoli poſſunt prodeſſe potentes,
Non proſunt, potiùs plurimùm obeſſe ſolent. Ouid. triſt. 2.

Nulla ciuitatibus aduerſus tyrannos melior cautio eſt, diffidentiâ. Plut. reip. ger. 821.

Aut hoc incluſi ligno, &c. Aut hæc in noſtros, &c. Aut aliquis latet error, &c.
Quicquid id eſt, timeo Danaos. Vide Virg. Æn. l. 2.

Nec citò credideris, quantùm citò credere lædat. Senec. ep. 3.

Charles the 8. is come to *Piſa:* he findes the citizens groaning vnder the Florentine yoke, and imploring his Maieſtie to redreſſe their wrongs, and free them of their ſeruitude. The King grants their deſire, contrary to the late articles concluded at *Serezzana:* where, this towne was conſigned into his hands, for caution onely, till his returne from *Naples:* and then to be ſurrendred vp againe. The *Piſanes* (vnder protection of the King) take armes; pull downe the enſignes of *Florence* in euery place of the citie, and re-aſſume their libertie. The *Florentines* (who vpon all former occaſions had bene iealous of the *Piſanes* loyaltie, and doubtfull of their reuolt) had not in ſuch a time of danger as this, brought away their chiefe citizens, nor put a ſtrong garriſon of ſtrangers into the towne, as in all good policie they ought to haue done.

APHORISME LIII.

NOnius [1] choſe rather to loſe all his honours and fortunes, then to quit his Opall ring to Anthonie. Of ſuch a price, but a farre fairer iewell is Libertie: a thing ſo ſweete and precious, as it deſerues the ſelling of all we haue, and running into any hazard. [2] Yet, not in equitie to be attempted againſt a lawfull Soueraigne: nor in reaſon, where the poſsibilitie to hold it, is not ſo great as the meanes to get it.

Haill.eſt.l.2. 1 *La Liberté eſt vn breuuage, qui empoiſonne les entendements des hommes.*

Idem alibi. *Le nom de Liberté, eſt la plus belle, la plus douce, & la plus trompereſſe choſe du monde.*

Guicc. 2 *E' permeſſo à ciaſcuno, à deſiderar di venir à meglior fortuna: Ma deue anco ciaſcuno tollerare quello, che la ſorte gli ha dato.*

Bodin.de rep.lib.5. *Quoy qu'vn dit, que ſoit loiſible, de s'exempter de la ſubiection de ſon Seigneur, s'il eſt mal traitté: Cela s'entend de l'arrier vaſſal, qui a recours à ſon Seigneur Souerain, & non pas du vaſſal lige.*

Teren. Adel. *Nimia licentia ſemper euadit in aliquod magnum malum.*

Tac.An.16. *Quidam, vt imperium euertant, libertatem præferunt: ſi peruerterint, ipſam aggredientur.*

Tacit. hiſt.4. *Ne contumaciam cum pernicie, potiùs quàm obſequium cum ſecuritate, malis.*

Claudian. *Fallitur egregio quiſquis ſub Principe credit*
Seruitium: Nunquam libertas gratior extat,
Quàm ſub Rege pio.——

The Duke of *Millan* had plotted the reuolt of *Piſa*, with certain baniſhed citizens: holding this the beſt and moſt compendious way for him to in-ſignorize himſelfe of that towne: though indeed it after proued the very ſource of all his misfortunes. Theſe mal-contents like the motion, enter into the action, and preuaile: not conſidering the weakneſſe of the citie, how it was diſpeopled, how the remainder was impoueriſhed: nor weighing the riches and forces of the *Florentines*, and their determinate reſolution neuer to quit it. They called not into conſideration the certaintie of a continuing warre, and the vncertaintie of

of their fleeting friends. And lastly, that no other Prince would embarke himselfe into their troubles and charge, except it were to make himselfe absolute Lord ouer them: with many other difficulties, which after appeared, accompanied with their owne extreme calamitie.

APHORISME LIIII.

WHile' the Crocodile sleepes gaping with open mouth, the Indian Ratt shootes himselfe into his belly, and gnawes his guts in sunder: [2] *So entreth Mischiefe at the open gates of Securitie. Selfe-conceited confidence in our owne strength, and ouer-weening credulitie of anothers honestie, begets in men this supine negligence.* [3] *But a watchfull prouidence preuents an imminent danger.*

1 *Crocodilus satur, & semper esculento ore, in littore somno datus, Trochilum inuitat ad purgandum dentes. In qua voluptate somno pressum conspicatus Ichneumon, per easdem fauces, vt telum aliquod immissus, erodit aluum.* — Plin.nat.hist. l.8.c.25.

2 *Inter Scopulos quibus illidi ac frangi Reip. Nauis solet, prima mihi fiducia occurrit.* — Lip.Pol.l.3.

Tales isti, contemnendis, quàm cauendis hostibus, aptiores. — Tac.hist.l.4.

Multi, dum se tam magnos quàm audiunt, credunt, attraxêre superuacua, & in discrimen rerum omnium peruentura bella. — Sen.de Ben. l.6.c.30.

Præproperi & feroces semper incauti, grati tantùm vulgo: Nam stolidis aut barbaris, cunctatio vilis. — Lip.Pol.l.5.

Μεθ' ἀσφαλείας μὲν δοξάζουσι, μετὰ δέους δὲ ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ ἐλλείπουσι. *i. Cum supina fiducia sententiam dant, in reipsa trepidantes deficiunt.* — Thucyd.l.1.

3 *Nimis homo nihil est, qui piger est. Nam vigilare decet hominem, qui vult sua tempore conficere negotia.* — Plaut.Rud.

Metiri sua regna decet, viresq; fateri. — Lucan.8.

Quicquid est incoctum, non expromunt, benè coctum duunt. — Plaut.mil.gl.

Πίσεις δ' ἄρα οὐδὲ ἀπιστίαι ὤλεσαν ἄνδρας. *i. Credulitas pariter ac diffidentia, perdiderunt homines.* — Hesiod.l.1.

Charles the 8. as a late reconciled friend with *Florence*, approcheth the citie with his whole armie. For, *d' Aubigny* is newly come to him by commandement, with all the troupes he had in *Ro-*

Romagna: onely, for his more ſpeed, he had left his artillerie at *Caſtro Caro*. The King enters *Florence*, armed, on horſebacke, with his Lance on his thigh. He layes claime to the citie by the law of armes, becauſe he had entred it in warlicke manner. The State fore-ſaw this his ambition, but durſt not denie his entrance: yet, to preuent the worſt, they had formerly and prouidently giuen order, to fill the chiefe places of the towne (beſides many priuate houſes) with armed ſouldiers: that vpon any ſodaine tumult, the great Bell of the Pallace ſhould be rung; and that vpon this alarme, both theſe ſouldiers lodged within, and others quartered neare about the citie, to this purpoſe, ſhould come to the reſcue. VVhich prouiſions ſo well made, when they were knowne to the King, he preſently quits his claime: and falls to treate with them of a perfect League, vpon more equall conditions.

APHORISME LV.

PRinces[1] *are ſaid to haue many eyes, and long armes: becauſe, their vnderſtanding is enlightned by many, and their power is exerciſed afarre off.*[2] *As therefore nothing is more needfull to them, then faithfull Counſellors, and vpright executioners of their will:*[3] *So nothing is more perillous, when the partie, whoſe ſeruice is vſed, directeth his counſels or actions, to his owne particular aduantage.*

Xen.pæd.l.8 Ouid.ep.Hel
1 Πολλοὶ βασιλέως ὀφθαλμοὶ, καὶ πολλαὶ ἄτα. *i. Multi Regis oculi, multæ aures.*
An neſcis longas Regibus eſſe manus?

Plat. in The.
2 Σύμβυλος ἱερὸν χρῆμα. *i. Conſultor res eſt optima.*

Sen.gr. Eraſ.
Ἱερὸν ἀληθῶς ἐστιν ἡ Συυβυλεία. *i. Sacra res eſt Conſultatio.*

Ariſt.pol.l.4
Τὸ βυλεύεσθαι περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν θειότατον ἐστι. *i. Deliberatio & conſultatio cum aliis, diuiniſsima res eſt inter homines.*

Bod.l.3.
Nullum magis ſapientiæ argumentum in Principe, quàm ſapientium virorum delectum habere, vt eorum conſiliis frui poſsit.

Idem fol.372
Vt alienis conſiliis potiùs quàm ſuis ſapere, ac res gerere conſueſceret: Sic Ludouicus 11. *Carolum filium inſtitui voluit.*

3 Peſ-

3 *Peſsimum veri affectus, & iudicij venenum, ſua cuique vtilitas.* Tac. hiſt. l. 2.
Priuatæ res ſemper officêre, officientq; publicis negotijs. Liui. l. 22.
Auro pulſa fides, auro venalia iura, Propert. l. 3.
Aurum lex ſequitur, mox ſine lege pudor.
Ipſe decor recti, facti ſi præmia deſint, Ouid. Pon. 2
Non monet, & gratis pœnitet eſſe probum.
Priuato vſui bonum publicum poſtponitur. Tacit. An. 6.

The French king is moued in the behalfe of *Peter Medici*, to mediate for his returne from exile: he is perſwaded by ſome of his Councell, that his preſence would greatly further the kings affaires. He writes him letters of this effect, and giues him aſſurance of his reſtoration to his country and honours. Theſe letters come to him at *Venice*. He is in much ſuſpence: diſtracted betweene this hope, and the feare not to fall into his enemies hands. He communicates the matter with the Senate, and deſires their aduice. They knowing what benefit the king would make of his returne (then which nothing could be more vnpleaſing, or preiudiciall to them and their State) diſſwade him from going: put him in minde what a folly it were to entruſt himſelfe in their power, and then ſtand at their mercie, whom he had offended ſo much: aduiſe him to ſtay a fitter occaſion: offer to engage themſelues in his quarrell; and when time ſhall ſerue, with their vttermoſt power to reſtore him home againe. He enclineth to this counſell, refuſeth the kings offer, and remaines a *Bandito* in *Venice*.

APHORISME LVI.

OF [1] *all the elements, fire is of the quickeſt and nobleſt nature: And of all creatures, thoſe are the braueſt, and moſt warlicke, which are by nature of a ſwift, couragious, and fierie diſpoſition, as the Lion, the Horſe, the Eagle, the Dolphin; rather then the hugeſt and ſtrongeſt, as the Elephant, the Camell, the Oxe, and the Whale.* [2] *So of the actions of men, thoſe of Courage*

and braue Reſolution are the nobleſt; becauſe they often preuaile, euen where counſell, wiſedome, force, and all other meanes do faile.

Plin.l.8. 1 *Vide Plinium Naturali hiſtoria, per totum libri octaui tractum.*

Tacit.An.l.1. 2 *Cunctatione opus non eſt, vbi perniciosior ſit quies, quàm temeritas.*

Lip.Pol.l.3. *Conſilia calida & audacia, in omni adminiſtratione damnanda, at in nouo aliquo aut ſubito diſcrimine, vtiliter & neceſſariò ſæpe adhibenda.*

Tacit.hiſt.l.3 *Inter ancipitia, deterrimum eſt media ſequi.*

Id.Ibid. *Plerique hîc peccant: & in rebus afflictis, nec prouident ſatis, nec audent.*

Taſſo.cant.6 *Che ſpeſſo auuien, che ne' maggior periglj*
Sono i più audaci, gl' ottimi conſigli.

Maccia.l.3. diſc. *Si quis Princeps, ab alio quippiam impetrare cupiat, cuius multum interſit, tunc ſæpè commodiſsima eſt ea occaſio, quæ, ei à quo petis, nullum deliberandi ſpacium concedit: ſed potiùs illi reſpondendi ſubitam neceſsitatem imponit: & præſens periculum demonſtrat, ſi negatur id quod petitur.*

Adag.Eraſ. *Audendum eſt aliquid, ſi vis eſſe aliquid. Audaces fortuna iuuat.*

Tacit.An.15 *Non ignauiâ magna imperia continentur, ſed virorum armorumq; faciendum certamen.*

Macci. *Sæpe fit vt impetu quodam & audacia, obtineatur id, quod legitimè progredienti nunquam contigiſſet.*

Liui.l.22. *Agendo, audendoq;, res Romana creuit, non his ſegnibus conſilijs quæ timida vocantur.*

Liui.l.25. *In rebus aſperis, & tenui ſpe, fortiſsima quæque conſilia, tutiſsima ſunt.*

Senec.Agā. *Capienda rebus in arduis, præceps via eſt.*

Saluſt.Iug. *Semper in prælio, his maximum periculum eſt, qui maximè timent.*

The Florentines treate with the French king, about the conditions of their peace. The Kings demaunds are held to be moſt vnreaſonable: he will not be drawne to any other, nor ſtirre one iotte from what he had propounded. *Peter Capponi*, a gentleman of a noble houſe, and one of the Commiſſioners for the Treatie, ſnatcheth the paper of Articles out of the French Secretaries hands, teares them before the kings face: bids him ſound his trumpets to the fight, and they would ring their Pallace bell, (which was their alarme to the battell:) and ſo he flings out of the chamber. This braue reſolution and hot courage of *Capponi*, thawes the icie and ſtiffe demaunds of the king, and reduceth him to a more ſupple and reaſonable concluſion. The Articles agreed vpon, are theſe: A reciprocall forgetfulneſſe of fore-paſſed wrongs: That *Florence* ſhould be friend, confederate, and

and in perpetuall protection of the Crowne of *France*. That the king ſhould hold in his hands *Piſa*, *Ligorne*, *Pietra-Santa*, *Serezzana*, and *Serezzanello*, till his returne from the conqueſt of *Naples*; and then to ſurrender them vp to the Florentines, without demanding charges; and in the meane time they to haue the maine profits. That the conqueſt ſhould be vnderſtood perfect, when the king had taken the citie of *Naples*, or made a peace or truce for two yeares; or were himſelfe in perſon returned backe out of *Italy*. That the Commanders of thoſe places, and the Captaines of companies in them, ſhould preſently ſweare to the deliuery of them vp, at the time aſſigned. That the citie ſhould contribute towards the kings warres, fiftie thouſand Duckats within fifteene daies; fortie thouſand more in the moneth of March; and thirtie thouſand in Iune, next after following. That *Medici* ſhould be freed from his proſcription, and confiſcation of his lands and goods, but that himſelfe ſhould not come within one hundred miles of the State of *Florence*: nor his brethren within one hundred of the citie.

APHORISME LVII.

NO[1] *neceſsitie can be forcible enough, nor pretence warrantable, to vrge a man to be diſloyall, or make breach of his word and faith to his Prince.*[2] *It is therefore hatefull in all men, but more, when it is in a perſon noble by bloud, and a ſouldier; and moſt of all, when it is accompanied with ingratitude.*[3] *Who ſeldome eſcapes the due rewards for ſuch an offence.*

1 *Fides, nulla neceſsitate ad fallendum impellitur: nullo corrumpitur præmio.* Senec. ep. 89

Apud Romanos, iuxta diuinas religiones, fides humana colitur. Liui. l. 9.

Iurando gratiam Scythas ſancire ne credideris, colendo fidem, iurant. Curt. l. 7.

Græcorum iſta cautio eſt, qui acta conſignant, & Deos inuocant: nos religionem in ipſa fide nouimus. Idem. Ibid.

2 *Quoties neceſſe eſt fallere, aut falli, à tuis patiare potiùs ipſe, quàm facias ſcelus.* Senec. Theb

Cic.pro Rof. *Perfidioſum & nefarium eſt, fidem frangere, quæ continet vitam.*
Liuij. *Qui non reuerentur homines, fallunt Deos.*
Thucyd.l.4. *Fraus fœdior quàm aperta violentia.*
Tibull. 3 *——Etſi quis primò periuria celat,*
Serà tamen tacitis pœna venit pedibus,
Tacit.An.2. *Perfidi & ruptores pacis, vltioni & gloriæ ſunt mactandi.*

Virginio Orſini was tied in many obligations of faith and alleageance to the houſe of *Arragon*: he was naturall vaſſall to *Alphonſo*: he was Captaine-generall of his armie, and high Conſtable of the kingdome of *Naples*: his ſonne *Iohn-Iordan* had married the baſe daughter of *Ferdinand*; and by her had receiued great fauours, and poſſeſſed great eſtates in that Realme: beſides, the warre betweene the Pope and his Maſter, grew firſt vpon his quarrell. All this notwithſtanding, he cauſeth his ſons to accord with the French king; binding themſelues to ſupply victuals, and giue free paſſage to his armie through all the eſtates they held within the iuriſdiction of the Church. They deliuer vp *Campagnana* and ſome other townes of good ſtrength and great importance, for the kings affaires, to the Cardinall *Gurgenſe*, in *Depoſito*, for caution of performance. They entertaine the king in their chiefe caſtle of *Bracciano*. by whom, both *Virginio* himſelfe, and diuers others of his houſe, were not long after taken priſoners.

APHORISME LVIII.

AS they ſay in ſchooles of Art, It is eaſier to oppoſe then anſwer: So they finde by proofe in the art of warre, that it is eaſier and ſafer to obuiate and meete danger in the way, then to tarrie till it come home to our owne doores. For, beſides that the ſeate of warre is alwaies miſerable, there is euer more courage in the aſſailer, and commonly better ſucceſſe.

Senec.Hip. 1 *Tutiſsimum eſt inferre, cùm timeas, gradum.*
Rag.Stat. *E' meglio l' aſſaltar, che l' eſſer aſſaltato.*

Hiero

Hiero Syracusanus, persuasit Romanis, ad transportandas legiones in Italiam: vt & hostes in terra sua haberent, minusq; laxamenti daretur iis, ad auxilia Hannibali sumenda. Liu.l.31.

Expedit metum vltrò inferre hosti, & ab se remoto periculo, alium in discrimen adducere. Liu.l.38.

Quand on voit venir le danger, il faut gaigner le deuant, & n' attendre pas que le mal soit fait, pour y donner ordre. Am.Plut. Caro.

La Sicurezza consiste, ne'l tener il Nemico e'l pericolo lontano da casa nostra: Perche, la vicinanza del male, è gran parte d'esso male. Rag.Stat.l.6

Era meglio ch' egli andasse
I nemici à trouar nella lor terra,
E sopra lor Campi alloggiasse,
Che dentro à le confine l' aspettasse. Arioſt.agg.2

2 *Inferimus bellum, infestisq; signis descendimus in Italiam: tanto audaciùs fortiusq; pugnaturi, quanto maior spes, maiorq; animus inferentis est quàm arcentis.* Han.ap.Liu.

Prouocando, tuis auges confidentiam, & aduersarijs minuis: quia, fortiores videntur qui prouocare non dubitant. Liui.

Multum interest alienos populère fines, an tuos vri excindiq; videas: plus animi est inferenti periculum quàm propulsanti: Ad hoc, maior ignotarum rerum est terror. Liu.l.38. Scipio.

Grande per l'ordinario, è l' auuantaggio di chi assalisce altrui, nella casa propria: perche tiene lontani da se i pericoli, & i danni maggiori della guerra: Accresce à suoi l' ardire: lo leua a' nemici: & non pùr con le forze, ma con la riputazione, & anco con lo spauento, (che si mette à nemici) si fa la strada più facile alla vittoria. Paruta l.2. disc.5.

The State of *Venice* and Duke of *Millan*, obserue with a watchfull eye the proceedings of the French armie. They consider how the chiefe forts in *Toscany*, are deliuered him in caution: how he had left a garrison in *Siena*: had accorded with the *Orsini*; and that nothing stood in his way, but yeelded to his forces. They feare that the kingdome of *Naples* alone, will not content an ambitious king, puffed vp with the pride of so great successe. And therefore they treate of a strong confederation and forces to be sent in *Alphonsoes* aide against him: which though at first it found some let, nor could they send succors in time to *Naples*, as they were purposed, by reason of the shamefull flight of *Alphonso*, from before the face of the French armie at *Viterbo*: yet it was not long after, but the former treatie was renewed, the League confirmed, and forces leuied; whereas they gaue him

a braue encounter in his returne, vpon *Taro*.

APHORISME LIX.

THe [1] *ſtronger giueth the law, the weaker muſt take the leſſe of euils. Therefore if thou finde thy ſelfe ouer-weake, make thy peace at as low a rate as thou canſt.* [2] *For any conditions are rather to be accepted, then an vneuitable ouerthrow expected.* [3] *So horrible are the effects of warre.*

Am.Plut. Grace. Plaut. Herc.fur.

1 *Le plus fort donne la loy.*
E malis, quod minimum eſt, id minimum eſt malum.
Pacem reduci velle victori expedit,
Victo neceſſe eſt. ———

Am.Plut. Phoc. Liui.l.25. Cæſ.bel.ciu.

2 *Il faut touſiours accepter la paix, quand vn puiſſant enemi la cherche & la preſente.*
Aliqua tolerabili conditione finies bellum.
Quauis tuta conditione pacem accipere malis, quàm cum valentiore certare.

Curt.l.5.

Gubernator, vbi naufragium timet, iacturâ, quicquid ſanari poteſt, redimit.

Am.Plu.Φo. Rag.Stat.l.6

Il faut s'humilier deuant ceux, qui ont la guerre en la main.
Se l'auuerſario ſia tanto potente, che non vi ſia ſperanza di poterci defendere, ſarà vffizio d'vn ſauio Capitano, il riſcuoterſi dalla ruina imminente, col minor male che ſi potrà.

Bartas.fur.

3 *La guerre,— Caſſe-loix, Caſſe-mœurs,*
Raſe-forts, verſe-ſang, Bruſle-hoſtels, Aime-plœurs:
Deſoubs ſes pieds d'Arrain, croüille toute la Terre,
Sa Bouche eſt vn Braſier, ſa voix eſt vn Tonnerre,
Chaſque doit de ſa main, eſt vn Charbon bruyant,
Et chaſque ſon regard, vn Eſclair flamboyant.

Alexander the 6. was one of the firſt that called the French king againſt *Naples*: and the firſt of all other, that had broken his faith, and the articles of confederation with him. The remembrance hereof, and of his infamous and ſymoniacall purchaſe of the Papacie, and leud adminiſtration in that his office, was a thing that terrified and perplexed him much: ſeeing the Cardinall of *S. Peter* in *Vincola*, and other his capitall and mortall enemies,

mies, ſo neare in grace, and great in power, with the King: who now with his armie was approched nigh *Rome*: *Ciuita-Vecchia* and *Cornetto*, with the greateſt part of his countrie on that ſide the *Tiber*, were alreadie loſt, and at the French deuotion. He muſt put the Duke of *Calabria* and his armie out of *Rome*, and ſuffer the king to enter, as he entred *Florence*, (armed on horſebacke with his Lance on his thigh) or elſe looke for no peace. It was a hard caſe to abandone his friends, and commit himſelfe to the power of his enemies, before all differences were compounded, or his peace made: yet perforce hee yeeldeth to thoſe conditions, and further capitulates thus: That betweene them ſhall be perpetuall amitie, and confederation defenſiue: That the king ſhall hold *Ciuita-Vecchia*, *Terracina* and *Spoleto*, for caution. That the Pope ſhall remit all offences to thoſe Cardinals and Barons that had followed the French part. That he ſhall giue the king the Inueſtiture of *Naples*. That he ſhall deliuer him *Gemyn*, the brother of *Baiaſet* the great Turke, whom (corrupted with the Turkes money, for the ſumme of fortie thouſand Duckats yearly) he kept in ſafe cuſtodie, leaſt he ſhould cauſe trouble and rebellion in the *Ottoman* Empire. That he ſhould pardon the Prefect or Prouoſt of *Rome*, for intercepting the laſt yeares allowance of fortie thouſand Duckats at *Sinigaglia*. And laſtly, that *Cæſar Borgia* Cardinall of *Valencia*, ſhould follow the kings armie three moneths, (as Legate Apoſtolicke in ſhew) but indeed as pledge for theſe conditions.

APHORISME LX.

THe ruinous building, whoſe ground-ſels are rotten, may for a time be vnder-propped, and kept vp: but when it is once falling, there is no poſsible meanes to ſtay it. So the Gouernment, whoſe foundation is laid in bloud, or baniſhment of the Nobilitie, and oppreſsion of the Commons, may ſubſiſt for a while:

But

[2] *But when it once beginnes to fall, the downe-fall is violent, and ſodaine.*

Seneca. 1 *Violenta nemo imperia continuit diù: moderata durant.*
Plin.Paneg. *Malos Principes deteſtantur, etiam qui malos faciunt.*
Incer.Aut. *Regna cum ſcelere, omnibus ſunt exilijs grauiora.*
Sen.Her.fur. 2 *Semel profectò premere fælices, Deus —*
Cum cœpit, vrget: hos habent magna exitus.
Lip.pol.l.1. *Adeò vt nullis conſilijs vel auxilijs, id vitemus aut mutemus.*
Sen.de Cle. l.5. *Reges conſeneſcunt, liberiſq; ac nepotibus tradunt regnum: Tyrannorum verò execrabilis, ac breuis poteſtas eſt.*
Am.Plu.Cic *Geux qui veulent baſtir leurs maiſons, ſur les ruines de l'eſtat publique, baſtiſſent leur ruine propre.*
Iuuen.Sat.10 *Ad generum Cereris, ſine cæde & vulnere pauci*
Deſcendunt Reges, & ſicca morte tyranni.
Lucan.l.2. *— Sic ſors incerta vagatur,*
Fertq; refertq; vices, & habent mortalia caſum.
Virgil. *— Sic omnia fatis*
In peius ruere, & retrò ſublapſa referri.

Rome is turnd French. *Aquila*, and almoſt all *Abbruzzi* is reuolted. The *Flower de Lys* is ſet vp in euery place. *Fabritio Colonna* hath taken in the countries of *Albi* and *Tagliacozzo*. The Aniowine faction is vp in armes. All the kingdome cries out of the former cruelties and tyrannies of *Alphonſo*, and his deceaſſed father. The diſtreſſed king ſeeing now all things, not in the way of commotion, but of manifeſt precipitation and open rebellion; amazed with the terrour of this ſight, and tormented with the horrour of his guiltie conſcience, deſpairing of meanes to reſiſt ſo fatall a tempeſt, and forgetting the reputation and fame he had got in his former warres; flies ſecretly with ſome few Iewels and treaſure, into the Iſle of *Sicilia*, and abandones all to the enemie, not acquainting either his brother or his ſonne with his flight.

APHORISME LXI.

THE[1] *conqueſt is eaſie, where there is neither valour, counſell, power, nor deſire of glorie: though that be more noble which preuaileth againſt Reſiſtance, and opens his way with the ſword, where he findes it ſhut againſt him.*[2] *But the greateſt and moſt glorious victorie of all, is, not onely to breake the forces, but to triumph ouer the broken and deiected heart of the vanquiſhed.*

1 *Facile eſt vincere non repugnantem.* Ariſt.

Non ille ſolus vincitur hoſtis, qui cadit in acie, pondere armorum oppreſſus, & virium: tutiùs etiam tuba tacente ſub iugo mittitur voluntarius: qui ſentit expertus, nec fortitudinem in rebelles, nec lenitatem in ſupplices animos, hoſti deeſſe. Curt.

2 *Cenſebant Achæi, neque ſplendidam, neque firmam vllam victoriam, niſi quis palàm & ex condicto depugnans, animos quoque deiecciſſet aduerſariorum.* Poly.l.13.

—— Nulla eſt victoria maior,
Quàm quæ confeſſos animo quoque ſubiugat hoſtes. Claudian.

—— Si decidit hoſtis
Ire ſuper ſatis eſt, vitamq; relinquere victo.
Quæ vindicta prior, quàm cum formido ſuperbos
Flectit?—— Stat.Theb.8.

—— Ignoſcere pulchrum
Iam miſero, pœneq; genus vidiſſe precantem. Claud.de bel.Get.

Id.Ibid.

Monte-fortino, a ſtrong place belonging to *Iacopo Conti* a Romane Baron, is beſieged, battered, aſſaulted, and ſacked, all in one day. *Mount-S.Iohn*, a peece likewiſe of good ſtrength, is wonne in few houres, the ſouldiers all ſlaine, the towne rifled, and burned. *S.Germane* is one of the keyes of the kingdome, it hath before it the faire riuer *Garigliano*, whereupon it ſtandeth, high and vnpaſſable rockes on the one ſide, and deepe mariſhes on the other. Here the new king *Ferdinand*, with an armie of fiftie Squadrons of horſe, and ſix thouſand choiſe foote, attends the coming of the French, and intends to bid him battell. Yet at the

very first bruite of the enemies approch, he shamefully quits the place, and retires to *Capua*, thence to *Naples*, to appease the tumult there. He is no sooner gone, but the Capuans with their gouernour *Triultio*, render themselues to the French king. *Auuersa* followes the example of *Capua*: and *Naples* of *Auuersa*. Such faithlesse and faint-hearted resistance made the Neapolitans, and so easie a purchase had the French king of so large and noble a kingdome: hauing with an vncredible course of vnheard of fortune, and beyond the example euen of *Cæsar* himselfe, without spreading a tent, or breaking a lance, conquered all lets, before he came at them.

APHORISME LXII.

IN[1] *the actiue part of militarie seruice, the Captaines greatest vertue is to apprehend a present occasion of aduantage, and to take it.*[2] *So on the Passiue side, the euasion from a sodaine and imminent danger, is much more noble then a fore-thought of preuention. For in this is onely matter of iudgement, but in that is the life of action and execution.*

Liui.l.28. 1 *Id est viri & ducis, non deesse fortunæ præbenti se, & oblata casu flectere ad consilium.*

Cic.de fin. *Ars viuendi & bellandi est Prudentia, vt medicina valetudinis.*

Lip.pol.l.3. è Plutar. *Mens vna sapiens, plurium vincit manus: quæ fallere non vult, falli non potest.*

Homer.Il.N *Atqui ego si mihi adsistas cæsia Diua,*
Vel tercentum contra homines concurrere pugna
Ausim: te fretus comite, ô Dea, & adiutrice.

Arist.pol.2. Ἡ φρόνησις ἀρχοντος ἴδιος ἀρετη μόνη. *Principis propria est & vnica virtus, prudentia.*

Tasso.cant.4 2 *Ma che gioua (ohimè) che del periglio*
Vicino, omai fosse præsago il cuore,
S' irresoluto in ritrouar rimedio,
La mia tenera età rendesse'l timore.

Yong *Ferdinand* had in open assembly made a speech full of compassion to the Neapolitans. He had absolued them of their oath

oath and allegeance: with a noble and vertuous proteſtation, that whatſoeuer his fathers and grandfathers faults were in their gouernment, he for his owne part had neuer wronged any man while he was Prince, or ſince he was King. All will not ſerue. The citie is in reuolt. The king vpon his departure. VVhen ſodainly he hath ſecret intelligence, that the Dutch guard in *Caſtel-nuouo* (or the Pallace) had reſolued to ſeize on his perſon, and ſell him to the French king. He preſently apprehends the danger, and meanes of eſcape; thus: He bids the Dutch take preſent ſpoile of all his goods and furniture in the Pallace. They all runne greedily to the pillage. Meane while, he with his vnkle *Frederick*, and the old Queene his grandmother, haue leiſure to embarque themſelues in certaine light gallies, and make their eſcape.

APHORISMES, CIVIL AND MILITARIE.

LIB. II.

APHORISME I.

CONtracts[1] betweene States, must be tied with a Gordian knot, that nothing but the sword, and fine force may vnloose them: else there lies a way open to the Defeizance; and the aduantage once discouered, is as easily taken.[2] Wherefore the prouerbe, Fast binde, fast finde, is as necessarie a rule betweene States, as betweene man and man.

Auſ.præfat. 1 *Alexander, fatalis iugi lora cùm ſoluere non poſſet, abſcidit.*

Adag.Eraſ. *Ἅμα δίδου καὶ λάμβανε. i. Simul da & accipe: vbi res eſt cum homine parùm certa fide, cui non ſit tutum quicquam credere.*

Suet.fol.189 *Ceteros quod polliciti ſunt tardè præſtare: Tiberium quod præſtet tardè polliceri.*

Xen.in exp. Cyr.l.1. *Nonnulli dicunt te periculo imminente multa polliceri: ſed ſi fortunâ proſperâ vtare, nullius te rei memorem fore.*

Plaut.Aulul. — *Quo pacto ſolent perplexarier,*
Pactum non pactum eſt. non pactum, pactum eſt, cum illis lubet.

Ouid. *Pollicitis diues quilibet eſſe poteſt.*

Tac.An.l.1. *Plus in oratione tali dignitatis, quàm fidei.*

Lip.l.4. 2 *Quando imminet periculum, nec rebuſpub. nec Principibus credo confidere quenquam.*

Plaut. *Qui cauet ne decipiatur, vix cauet, etiam cùm cauet,*
Etiam cum cauiſſe ratus eſt, ſæpe is cautor captus eſt.

Hor.art. *Nunquam te fallant animi, ſub vulpe latentes.*

It was articled at *Florence*, betweene the French king and that

that State, that he ſhould hold *Piſa* in his hands, till his returne from the conqueſt of *Naples:* but the Florentines ſhould ſtill hold the Iuriſdiction and profits. They thought all ſure, becauſe he had perſonally ſworne it, in their Cathedrall Church, in a ſolemne manner, and generall aſſembly. He was no ſooner on his way towards *Rome*, but the Piſans rebell, driue the Florentine officers out of the towne, impriſon others, and ſpoile the reſt, of their goods, not leauing one Florentine among them. VVhereas, had the King giuen in charge to his commiſſioners in the towne, and thoſe commanders he left there in garriſon, to ſee that duly performed, which he had ſolemnly ſworne: or had the Florentines taken French pledges for aſſurance thereof, that fire of rebellion had not broke foorth in this Citie, which afterwards ſet all *Italie* in combuſtion: euen after the heate of the Neapolitan warre, was raked vp in the cold embers of obliuion.

APHORISME II.

THere [1] *be ſome people that ſleepe with their eyes alwaies open: ſuch are ambitious Princes: for though their ſences be ſometimes ſo bound, as they will not heare the truth when it is told them, nor ſee the danger that is manifeſtly before them: yet is the eye of their Imagination euer watchfull, vpon euery aduantage, that may ſeeme to further their end; ſo as they neuer take houres reſt in the ſweete ſleepe of Content.* [2] *And for want of ſufficient meanes, or fit inſtruments of their owne, they ſow the ſeeds of Diſcontent, and then blow the coales of Sedition in the hearts of rebellious ſubiects.*

1 *Libidinem dominandi, cauſam belli habent: & maximam gloriam in maximo imperio putant.* Saluſt. Cat.

Quid peſsimam Dearum amplecteris, Ambitionem, ô fili? Ne facias: iniuſta hæc Dea multas in domos & ciuitates ingreſſa fœliciter, & egreſſa eſt cum periculo vtentium. Lip. ex Eurip.

Idem.Eurip. *Ambitio δεινὸν κακὸν, malum formidabile: (Et alibi) ἄλγος ἐμφανὲς, calamitas eminens appellatur.*

Ouid.2.Met. *Afflatuq́ suo populos, vrbesq́, domosq́ Polluit.——*

Lucret.3. *——Auaricies & honorum cæca cupido, Quæ miseros homines cogunt transcendere fines --Iuris.*

Lip.pol.l.4. 2 *O artem nimis hodiè Principibus receptam.*

Tacit.Agric. *In ipsa hostium acie, inuenies tuas manus.*

Ouid.Fast.2. *Vbi vincere apertè non datur, insidias, armaq́ tecta parant.*

Salust de Metell. *Alios ab alijs diuersos aggreditur, ac paulatim tentando, postquam opportunos sibi cognouit, multa pollicendo persuadet.*

Lodowick Zforza had a great longing to the Soueraigntie of *Pisa*, euer since he was first there in exile. He calls to minde that *Iohn-Galeazzo Visconti* (first Duke of *Millan*) being Lord thereof by conquest, had giuen it to his base sonne *Gabriel-Maria*. Yet becausе it was got with the money and forces of *Millan*, he thinkes his plea good. but keepes the secret to himselfe, till a fitter time. And therefore, now that he findes the Pisans mutine, and readie to runne into open rebellion, he thrusts them on; promiseth secret aide: and deales vnder-hand with them of *Genoa*, to helpe the Pisans with armour, munition, and three hundred foote.

APHORISME III.

EMulation 1 *of vertue, in great men is honourable, but of greatnesse, dangerous. For, many times it breaketh the necke of one, or both the Riuals:* 2 *But it neuer faileth of hindring their faithfull seruice to their Prince and the State.*

Adag.Eras. 1 *Æmulatio Cos virtutis.*

Rag.Sta.l.19 *Licorgo introdusse nella sua Rep. l'emulazione, come per vn fomento della virtù.*

Plut.in Thes. *Sic Thesei virtutem gloria incendit Herculis: & Themistocli somnum ademit Miltiadis tropheum.*

Lucan.l.1. *Stimulos dabat æmula virtus.*

Tac.hist.2. de Mucian. *Æmulatio & proximi exercitus gloria, repulerat segnitiem.*

2 *Factiones,*

2 *Factiones, — publica belli*
Semina, quæ populos ſemper mersêre potentes. Lucan.l.1.
Stimulat non rarò priuati odij pertinacia, in publicum exitium. Tac.An.l.2.
— O dirum exitium mortalibus, o nihil vnquam Sil.l.17.
Creſcere, nec magnas patiens exurgere laudes
Inuidia.——
Inuidiam quod habet, non ſolet eſſe diù. Propert.l.2.
Vn ſage Conſeiller ne doit rien dire, ny faire, pour faueur, ou pour haine qu'il porte à aucun particulier: ains auoir eſgard ſeulement au bien publique. cap.15. Am.in Plut. Cato.
Ne emulatio inter pares, & ex eo impedimentum oriretur. Tac.An.l.2.

The Seneſhall of *Belcari*, and the Biſhop of S. *Malò*, were the two onely minions about the French king. S. *Malò* fauoured the Florentines: *Belcari*, enuying the greatneſſe of the other, being lately made Cardinall (though he was the chiefe meanes to bring him in fauour at firſt, that he might the better keepe downe others) is corrupted with the Piſans money, but more with a deſire to croſſe the Cardinall, to fauour their part: and therefore he moues the King in their behalfe, and preuaileth: contrary to his oath, and honour, and to the great preiudice of his affaires on that ſide the Alpes.

APHORISME IIII.

Vices are ſtronger in the Aduerbe, then in the Adiectiue: and ſo be vertues. To do that is well, is better then to do that is good: for, a man may do what is honeſt ſometimes, againſt his will: whereas in all vertuous actions, there is a free election. That Iudge therefore, who giueth ſentence before both Parties be heard, may iudge the right, but not aright. A greater iniuſtice it is, to heare the equitie of the Defendants cauſe, and yet doome for the Plaintiffe: for this man doth neither iuſtly, nor iuſtice.

1 Ἀδικεῖ μὲν οὖ δικαιοπραγεῖ, ὅταν ἑκὼν τις αὐτὰ πράξῃ· ὅταν δὲ ἄκων, οὔτ' ἀδικεῖ οὔτε δικαιοπραγεῖ, ἀλλ' ἢ κατὰ συμβεβηκός. *i. Iniuſtè quidem agit, & iuſtè aliquis, cum ea ſponte agit: cum verò non ſponte, nec iniuſtè quidem, nec iuſtè agit, niſi per accidens.* Ariſt.eth.l.5. cap.8.

2 *Qui*

Senec.Med. 2 *Qui ſtatuit aliquid, parte inaudita altera,*
Æquum licet ſtatuerit, haud æquus fuit.

Ariſtoph. Πρὶν ἂν ἀμφοῖν μυθὸν ἀκούσῃς, οὐκ ἂν δικαίσαις. *i. Iudicare noli, niſi parte vtraque audita.*

Sophocl. *Viciſsim audi, & deinde re cognita, iudica.*

Tac.hiſt.l.1. *Inauditi atque indefenſi, tanquam innocentes pereunt.*

Senec.Med. *Si iudicas, cognoſce: Si regnas, iube.*

Pub.Mim. *Legem Nocens veretur, Fortunam innocens.*

Horat. *Malè verum examinat omnis — corruptus Iudex.*

In Aut. *Nemo erit innocens, ſi accuſaſſe ſufficiat.*

Arioſt. cant. 18. *— Il magnanimo ſuole,*
Sempre prima che dannar la gente,
Vederla in faccia, & vdir le ragion' ch'vſa,
Differir anco e giorni, e meſi, e anni
Prima che giudicar ne gl'altrui danni.

The caſe betweene *Piſa* and *Florence*, is heard before the French king. *Burgundio Lolo* pleadeth for the Plaintiffes; ſheweth, that his citie hath eightie eight yeares endured an vniuſt ſeruitude: that ſhe which had bene one of the nobleſt cities of *Italie*, and extended her command euen to the Eaſt, was now by the crueltie and auarice of the Florentines, brought to extreme deſolation. That many of her chiefe citizens, rather then to be eye-witneſſes of the tyrannous vexation of the State-publik, and inſolent oppreſſions of priuate men, had abandoned their natiue country, and preferred a voluntary exile. That they were depriued their ancient trade of Merchandize, and onely permitted to vſe mechanicall occupations. That they were debarred the executing of any publicke office, euen of thoſe which ſtrangers might enioy. That the Florentine tyrannie extended euen to their liues, whom they ſought to ſuffocate and poiſon, with vnwholſome fogs, and dampes of infectious aire, by giuing no order for the keeping of their banks, and draining the ditches of their mariſhes. That nothing remained to the Florentines crueltie and inhumanitie, wherein they might farther plague the poore oppreſſed and diſtreſſed Piſans: and therefore they humbly flie to his Maieſtie for redreſſe. *Franceſco Soderini*, Biſhop of *Volterra*, anſwers for the Defendants: declares the

right

right of their title to *Pisa*, from *Gabriel-Maria Visconti*, the true owner, of whom they bought the towne, and territories thereunto belonging: prooues, that they were no sooner in peaceable possession, but the Pisans by rebellious violence depriued them thereof. That by a long and chargeable warre, they were forced to fight for their right: wanne it by fine force, being almost famished: and brought in more victuals then armes, to recouer their hunger-starued bodies. That *Pisa* was neuer of power to enlarge her territories by land, so farre as *Lucca*, a towne within ten miles: and for her power at sea, it lasted not long: nay, by her owne ciuill discords, and seditious mutinies (before *Visconti* had possession) she was brought to so low an ebbe, as *Ser Iacopo Appiano*, a base petti-fogging Notary, made himselfe Lord of the towne, and left the commaund thereof to his posteritie. That *Pisa* was no way beneficiall to *Florence*, but by the fitnesse of the scite, and nearnesse of the sea: as for the exactions layd vpon her, they were so small, as they did little more then defray the charge. That they were no more debarred the trading in merchandize, then other subiects of their State, who all notwithstanding acknowledged to liue vnder a lawfull and moderate gouernment, and desired not to change their Lord: because they were not so obstinately and insolently perfidious as the Pisans, whose seditious rebellion was now growne to a common by-word through all *Italie*. That they were so farre from depopulating the towne, as they had there planted a Vniuersitie, and recouered her *Ligorne*, without which Port she could not subsist. That all possible care was yearely taken for the maintenance of her bankes, and cleansing of her ditches. So that finally, their lamentations are fained, their obiections calumnious, and their accusations false aspersions. And therefore he humbly intreates his royall Maiestie to tender the right of their cause, and force of his owne oath in that behalfe. The King, notwithstanding all these reasons, inclines to the Pisans, and will not restore the Florentines to their right: onely he declares not presently, vntill hee had got into his hands the seuentie thousand

Duckats yet behinde, and due, by the articles of the late treatie.

APHORISME V.

THere [1] is no ſuch fortreſſe for the ſafetie of a State, as the breaſts of ſubiects, armed with loyaltie and loue to their Prince and countrie. [2] On the other ſide, nothing more endangereth it, then their perfidious and rebellious reuolt: which rebels ſeldome want ſuccors from the forrein enemy. not in loue to them, or care of their cauſe, but vpon ſome other gainefull or reuengefull purpoſe.

Am.in Tac.1. 1 *Non ſi ritroua fortezza più ſicura, che il petto del vaſſallo, armato della beneuolenza, verſo il ſuo Signore.*

Claudian.ad Honor. *Non ſic excubiæ, nec circumſtantia tela,*
Quàm tutatur amor.

Plin.ep.8. *Longè valentior amor ad obtinendum quod velis, quàm timor. Nam timor abit, ſi recedis; manet amor, ac ſic, vt ille in odium, hic in reuerentiam vertatur.*

Claud.Pan. *——Peragit tranquilla poteſtas*
Quod violenta nequit, mandataq; fortiùs vrget
Imperioſus amor. ——

Cic.Philip.3 2 *Quem diſcordiæ, quem cædes ciuium, quem bellum ciuile delectat: eum ex numero hominum eijciendum, ex finibus humanæ naturæ exterminandum puto.*

Hom.Ilia.3 Ἀφρήτωρ ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιός ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος,
ὃς πολέμου ἔραται ἐπιδημίου ὀκρυόεντος. i.
Nefarius, ſiue gente tribuq; eſt hic talis, qui ciuile cupit ferum & execrabile bellũ.

Valer.l.9. *Proditio tantum incommodi humano generi affert, quantum ſalutis bona fides.*

Am.Tac.Dẽ. *Les ſeditieux, & les plus grands traiſtres, ſe retirent vers les enemis de leurs maiſtres.*

Tac.An.l.2. *Sic Antiochus, blandimentis aduerſus plebem, fraude in Ducem, Barbarorum copias diſſociat.*

The Piſans, by inſtigation of *Lodowick Zforza*, and ſupportation of the French kings commiſſaries and garriſon, ſhake off the Florentine yoke, baniſh their officers, and robbe their merchants.

chants. They flie to the neighbor-States for aide. *Genoa* relieues them with men and munition, vpon an old grudge, euer ſince *Thomas Fregoſo* their Duke, ſold *Ligorne* to the Florentines; and lately more exaſperate, by the freſh impreſſion of their late loſſe of *Pietra-Santa*, and *Serezzana*. And *Siena* with *Lucca* (two profeſſed enemies to *Florence*) furniſh the Piſans with money. Laſtly, *Siena* ſends ouer and beſides, certaine troupes of horſe to their aide.

APHORISME VI.

IN iuſtice is neuer without ſome pretence to palliate her actions: and rather then faile, ſhe maſketh vnder the vizard of Religion, which makes her more vgly. Euen as ill-fauoured complexions, the more they are painted, the fouler they appeare: and misſhapen bodies, by putting on rich apparell, ſeeme more deformed.

Per ſpeciem ſacrificandi obtruncare. Tacit. hiſt. 5.
Semper aliquam fraudi ſpeciem iuris imponunt. Li. pol. l. 3.
Ne ſpecie Religionis, in ambitionem delabantur. Tac. An. l. 3.
Gl' huomini ſogliono ricuoprir la loco ambizione, col velo della pietà Chriſtiana. Por. in Guic
Priuatæ cauſæ pietatis aguntur obtentu, & cupiditatum quiſque ſuarum, religionem veluti pediſſequam habent. Leo. ep. 23.
Μὴ πλουτεῖν ἀδίκως, ἀλλα ἐξ ὁσίων βιοτεύειν. *i. Ne diteſcas iniuſtè, ſed ex iuſte partis viue.* Phocylid.
Ambitio, Religionis prætextu velata. Melanct.
Vox in choro, mens in foro. Virtutem non colere, ſed colorare. Adag.
Pudor impudentem celat, audacem quies, Sen. Hippol.
Pietas nefandum, vera fallaces probant.
—— Sæpius olim Lucret.
Religio peperit ſceleroſa, atque impia facta.
Nihil in ſpecie fallacius, quàm praua religio eſt: vbi Deorum numen præſcinditur ſceleribus. Liui. l. 39.
L' iniuſtice cherche des pretextes, à fin de cacher ſon inſatiable conuoitiſe. Am. Plu. Ant
Malus vbi bonum ſe ſimulat, tunc eſt peſsimus. Senec.

The Cardinall S. *Malò* hath the Kings commiſſion, to draw from the Florentines the ſeuentie thouſand Duckats due by the treatie; and meane while to entertaine them in hope, that he will reſtore them their priuiledges, and ſettle them in the quiet poſſeſſion of *Piſa*: he receiueth the mony; promiſeth a preſent redreſſe of their wrongs, and redintegration to their former right. He goeth to *Piſa*, with a ſhew to effect it: doth iuſt nothing in the buſineſſe, and returnes. He anſwereth the Florentines expoſtulation, with this cautelous and coloured excuſe, that he had no authoritie to commaund them, and he would not vſe the King (his maſters) power to compell them, becauſe it was a matter could not be done without blowes: which was vnfit for him, being a Prieſt, and a pillar of the Chriſtian common-wealth, to be the cauſe of ſhedding much Chriſtan bloud: and ſo left them, cheated of their money, and fruſtrate of their hope.

APHORISME VII.

A'Will to do hurt, is neuer leſſe in the cloſe then profeſſed enemie, but the meanes is alwaies greater. 2 Becauſe, he that ſuſpecteth leaſt, is ſooneſt and eaſieſt ouertaken and ouerthrowne: like the vnskilfull Fencer, who while he wardeth the head, is hit at the heart, which lay out of guard.

Front. præf. 1 *Flexuoſum & occultum hominis ingenium, cuius vis propriè in arte ſolertiaq́, eſt poſita: Apta tam ad cauendos, quàm metuendos hoſtes.*

Senec. de ira *Ira quò plus tegitur, eò magis nocet: (Et ſibi, & alijs.)*

Sen. Med. *Profeſſa perdunt odia vindictæ locum.*

Am. Tac. l. 4 *Quello fù ſempre coſtume di Tiberio, d'andar cuoprendo, le ſue ſceleratezze.*

Liui. l. 22. 2 *Incautus tutiùs opprimitur hoſtis.*

Curt. l. 4. *Quem ſpreueris, valentiorem negligentiâ facies.*

Vellei. l. 2. *Nemo celeriùs opprimitur, quàm qui nihil timet.*

Ouid. *Tranquillas etiam naufragus horret aquas.*

Senec. ſent. *Ita crede amico, ne ſit inimico locus.*

The Duke of *Millan*, cloſely and vnder the name of the Genoweſes,

noweſes, ſends freſh ſupplies to *Piſa*, conducted by *Lucio Maluezzo*, a Captaine of good reputation. VVith like ſecreſie he ioyneth with *Siena*, in the entertainmēt of *Appiano*, Lord of *Piombino*, and *Iohn Sauelli*, with their troupes, for the defence of *Monte-Pulciano*, which towne had lately reuolted from the Florentines to them of *Siena*: giuing hereby leſſe meanes of preuention, or reſiſtance to them of *Florence*, and more courage and aſſiſtance to both theſe townes, their enemies.

APHORISME VIII.

REligion is rather a ſetler, then a ſtickler in policie: ſhe rather confirmes men in obedience to the gouernment eſtabliſhed, then encites them to meddle in the erecting of a new. So ought they of religious order to do: for if they worke otherwiſe, they labour out of their vineyard, and moue out of their proper ſphære. The awfull reuerence men beare to their Cogniſance, and the opinion is had of their learning and ſanctitie, makes them more powerfull to perſwade, then either the ſound reaſons of the wiſe, or authoritie of the magiſtrate: and therefore when they abuſe this Power, well ordered States ſhould both curbe and correct them; which in a State meerly popular, is meerly impoßible.

Religio & Reſp. mutuis ſtant non officijs ſolùm, ſed & beneficijs. Remig. Flor.

Nihil eſt in rebus humanis Religione præſtantius, ideoq; ſumma vi defendenda. Laer. inſt. l. 5

Πρῶτον μὲν περὶ τῶν θεῶν, ἐπιμελεία. *i. Ante omnia ſit tibi cura rerum diuinarum.* Ariſt. pol. l. 7

Religio, & timor Dei, ſolus eſt qui cuſtodit hominum inter ſe ſocietatem. Laer. de ira. c. 12.

Tolle hoc vinculum, vita hominum ſtultitiâ, ſcelere, immanitate complebitur. Idem. cap. 8.

Proſpera eueniunt colentibus Deos: aduerſa ſpernentibus. Liui. l. 5.

Non dubitauerunt ſacris Imperia ſeruire, ita ſe rerum humanarum futura regimen exiſtimantia, ſi diuinæ potentiæ bene atque conſtanter eſſent famulata. Valer. l. 1. c. 1.

Religio, vinculum & coagulum eſt omnis ſocietatis, & Iuſtitiæ fundamentum. Plutarch.

Religione vita conſtat. Plin nat. hiſt l. 14.

After the baniſhment of *Peter Medici*, and his brethren, an aſſembly of the whole citie is called, in the Pallace yard, for the eſtabliſhing of a new gouernment. Among all the reſt, that forme of rule was thought beſt fitting for the preſent ſtate of things, and the nature of that people, which vnder the name of a Popular State, was notwithſtanding to be managed by ſome few of the better ſort. This, though generally applauded, yet many of the chiefeſt Nobles miſliked. The matter is debated in Councell. *Paul-Anthony Soderini* argues for a State meerly popular: becauſe, by that other mixt kinde of forme, the family of the *Medici* had vſurped vpon the publick libertie, and ſuppreſſed the reſt of the Nobilitie. His diſcourſe is excellent, full of reaſons to proue, and of Art to perſwade. *Guy-Anthony Veſpucci* redargues, anſwers euery point fully; conuinceth by demonſtratiue argument, that no gouernment is ſo fit for that State, as a well compoſed Ariſtocraſie: drawes the greater part of the Councell into his opinion, and is likely to carry the cauſe. VVhen ſuddenly *Sauanarola* ſteppes vp, a Friar Predicant, of great eſtimation in the citie, for his knowne learning and reputed ſanctitie of life, and held among the vulgar ſort for a Prophet. This man inueigheth moſt againſt that forme, moſt applauded at this Seſſion: tels them it is the will of God, that the gouernement ſhould be abſolutely Popular: and that it ought not to be in the power of a few Citizens, to alter the libertie, or preiudice the ſafetie of others. He (becauſe he had often foretold in generall, of troubles and forraine forces to inuade *Italy*, which they ſaw now come to paſſe) preuailes: and a gouernment meerly popular is eſtabliſhed.

APHORISME IX.

NO [1] Prince can challenge ſo much glorie by victorie, but that Fortune will put in to be ſharer with him: becauſe ſhe giues ſucceſſe, beyond the reach of Reaſon, and all ordinarie meanes. This is the common opinion. [2] But the wiſer is, that this happie effect proceeds out of former cauſes, as the direction of the Leader, quicke execution of the ſouldier, the aduantage of number, order, place, and infinite ſuch like. [3] But the trueſt is this, an all-ſeeing eye, much vnlike blinde Fortune; and an all-able hand, much ſtronger then weake Reaſon: who, as he is Lord of Hoaſts, ſo is he the giuer of victories.

1 *Huic omnia expenſa, omnia referuntur accepta: in tota ratione mortalium, ſola vtramque paginam facit: adeóque obnoxij ſumus ſorti, vt ſors ipſa pro Deo ſit.* Plin.l.2.c.7.

Non può mai il Capitano attribuire à ſe ſteſſo tanta laude, nelle vittorie, che molta parte non ſe ne voglia, la buona ſorte. Parut.l.2. diſc.4.

Fortuna anco più biſogna aſſai,
Che ſenza, val virtù poco, ô non mai. Arioſt.cant. 16.

2 *Victrix fortunæ ſapientia.* Iuue.Sat.13.

Bono Imperatori haud magni momenti fortuna eſt: mens ratioq; dominatur. Liui.l.22.

3 —— *Valet ima ſummis*
Mutare, & inſignem attenuat Deus
Obſcura promens.—— Horat.

Ρεῖα μὲν γὰρ βείσει ἔρεα δὲ βριάοντα χαλέπτει· Heſiod.op. & dies.l.1.
Ρεῖα γ' ἀρίζηλον μινύθει καὶ ἄδηλον ἀέξει·
Ρεῖα δὲ ἰθύνει σκολιὸν, καὶ ἀγήνορα καρπῖ. i.
Facilè potentem facit, & ſuperbientem deprimit: inſignem minuit, obſcurum auget: corrigit prauum, ſuperbum attenuat.

Two things remained to *Charles* the 8. for the perfecting of his victory: the yeelding vp of New-caſtle and Egge-caſtle, and the reducing of other townes and Prouinces (not yet come in) to his obedience. A buſineſſe in all reaſon, of great trouble, and much time and charge. But the Dutch garriſon in New-caſtle, ſurrender it to the King, without abiding one ſhot of the Canon: And Egge-caſtle (an impregnable peece, ſtanding vpon the

the ſea, and at firſt contiguous to the land, but diuided by *Lucullus*, and now ioyned by a bridge) ſo farre diſtant from the citie of *Naples*, as the Canon may reach at randon, but not batter it in direct line, yeelds likewiſe vpon compoſition. The Syndicks and Conſuls from all parts, ſtriue who ſhall come firſt, to yeeld him obedience. The Caſtellans make as much haſte to ſurrender vp their charges, and offer their ſeruice. The rocke of *Gaetta*, though ſtrong and well prouided, yeelds to diſcretion. Finally, all the whole kingdome, except the fortreſſes of *Brindiſi*, *Galliopoli*, and *Reggium*, and all the Barons, except *Alphonſo d'Aualo* Marquis of *Peſcara*, come in, and do their homage.

APHORISME X.

PEace and Power, are incompatible: they neuer dwell long together. For Cæſar will ſuffer no ſuperiour, and Pompey will admit no peere. As therefore it is princely, to grant the vanquiſhed enemie honorable eſtates: ſo is it good policie to prouide, that thoſe Eſtates lie farre off: Becauſe, it is a groſſe errour to grant him any one foote in that kingdome, wherein he was formerly a Competitor, and whereto he may hereafter lay claime.

Am. Tac. hiſt l. 4. *Difficilmente ſtanno in vn luogo, l'vnione, & la Potenza.*

De Rom. & Rem. *Sic Thæbanorum germanitas rupta: Sic Romanos geminos vnum non capit regnum, quos vnius vteri cepit hoſpitium.*

Tac. An. l. 4. *Arduum ſemper, eodem loci, potentiam & concordiam eſſe.*

Tacit. hiſt. 1. *Pacis intereſt, omnem poteſtatem, ad vnum conferri.*

Cyp. *Quando vnquam regni ſocietas, vel cum fide cœpit, vel ſine cruore deſiit?*

Lucan. l. 1. *Nulla fides regni ſocijs, omniſq; poteſtas*
Impatiens conſortis erit.

Lucan. fol. 6. *Nec quenquam iam ferre poteſt, Cæſarve priorem,*
Pompeiuſve parem.—

Liui. l. 1. *Infida eſt ſocietas regni.*

Seuer. Agam *Nec regna ſocium ferre, nec tedæ ſciunt.*

Statilius. *Ambitus impatiens, & ſummo dulcius vnum*
Stare loco: ſocijſq; comes diſcordia Regnis.

Don

Don Frederick, vnkle to the vanquiſhed and expulſed king *Ferdinand*, comes vnder ſafe-conduct to the French king: treates in behalfe of his nephew; that ſince God and men and the kings good fortune, had all concurred to giue the kingdome of *Naples* to his Maieſtie, his kinſman thought it no ſhame to yeeld to ſo great a Prince: nor was leſſe willing then others, to liue vnder his law, and in his obedience, ſo he might haue any Eſtate therein (aiming at *Calabria*) by the kings moſt royall and gracious grant. Vvhere, liuing not as a king, but as a Baron of that Realme, he might honour and admire the clemencie and magnanimitie of his victorious Maieſtie, in whoſe ſeruice he doubted not, but one day to haue the occaſion of ſhewing his loyall obedience: By this meanes, he ſhould purchaſe eternall glorie to himſelfe, like the old Romanes, and Princes of ancient times, who, for like actions, were reputed and held among the people of future ages, for gods. That this act was no leſſe ſafe then glorious, becauſe, hauing *Ferdinand* at his deuotion, he ſhould be aſſured of the kingdome, and need feare no change of fortune. The King takes no long pawſe, to anſwer a demand of ſuch nature: he is willing to inueſt *Ferdinand* with great eſtates and honours in *France*, and to giue *Don Frederick* full recompence for what himſelfe had loſt: but to giue him any part of the kingdome of *Naples*, whereof he was Competitor for the whole, he abſolutely refuſeth, as the fitteſt meanes to put all the reſt in manifeſt hazard.

APHORISME XI.

THe more eminent men are in qualitie, the more foule is the qualitie of their offence. And therefore, as diſhonorable actions are greateſt blemiſhes, in thoſe that are honourable by bloud or profeßion, (as Gentlemen and ſouldiers) becauſe vertues are greater embelliſhments in them then in others: So

wicked and vnchriſtian actions are moſt odious to thoſe, that are not onely Profeſſors, but profeſſed Patrons of religion and vertue. In theſe, diſſembled hypocriſie doubleth the iniquitie.

Iuuenal. *Omne animi vitium tanto conſpectius in ſe*
Crimen habet, quanto maior qui peccat habetur.

Liui. l. 22. *Qui magno Imperio præditi, in excelſo ætatem agunt, eorum facta cuncti mortales nouêre. Ita in maxima fortuna, minima licentia eſt.*

Senec. Med. *Magna non latitant mala.*

Iuuenal. *Nam Curios ſimulant, viuunt Bacchanalia.*

Adag. *Simulata ſanctitas, duplex iniquitas.*

Sen. Hip. *Vincit ſanctos dira libido.*

Adag. *Alia Leucon, alia Leuconis aſinus portat. Dictum de Hypocritis.*

Pope *Alexander* was forced to yeeld *Gemyn* the Great Turks brother, to the French king. It grieued him (out of his auarice) to loſe the fortie thouſand Duckats, which he yearely receiued for him: and he repined (out of his enuie) that another ſhould reape the benefite. He poiſons him therefore in candid Suckets, which wrought in ſuch maner by little and little, as he was out of his hands before the danger appeared, and died not thereof till he came at *Naples*. This he did (by common report) at the inſtigation of *Baiaſet* himſelfe, who for this purpoſe corrupted the Pope with a great ſumme of money, leaſt he ſhould liue to be cauſe of ſome rebellion and troubles in the Turkiſh Monarchie. A ſhamefull act of a Prieſt, and pretended Head of Chriſtianitie, wherein he was iuſtly tainted with the foure vgly crimes, of Couetouſneſſe, Enuie, Bribery, and Murther.

APHORISME XII.

AN[1] Oath is to be interpreted, not by him that takes it, but by him that takes his aſſurance by it.[2] And therefore, they that make no ſcruple to breake thoſe conditions, whereto they are tied by this ſacred and ſolemne obligation (if they finde any nice quillet in the Articles, which they may wreſt to their purpoſe)

poſe) they cannot auoide the guilt, though they ſeeke to remoue the ſcandall. For howſoeuer Politicks haue taken their aduantage out of Cuſtome, their pollicie could yet neuer warrant it out of Iuſtice.

1 *Quacunque arte verborum quis iuret: Deus tamen qui conſcientiæ teſtis eſt, ſic illud accipit, ſicut ille cui iuratur, intelligit.* Iſid. de ſum. bon. l. 2.

2 *Hij tales, ſua improbè potiùs, quàm callidè augent.* Lip. pol. l. 4.

Hij tales, ſtruunt cauſas, vel ſponte oblatas arripiunt.

Perfidos nunquam cauſa deficiet, cur pacto non ſtent. Tac. hiſt. l. 2.

Quærunt latebram periurio. Liui. l. 24.

Nihil fidei humanæ magis conuenit, quàm ſeruare pacta conuenta. Cic. off. l. 3.

Turpe eſt, cùm alijs omnibus, quibus vel minima virtus eſt cordi, tum imprimis principi viro, mentiri ac fidem fallere: Iuſiurandum autem, & pacta etiam ſcripto ſancita violare, nec abiectiſsimo quidem homini decorum eſſe arbitror. Leo Imp. Procop.

Nouit vias quibus effugit Eucrates: Quadrat in eum qui ſemper aliquam inuenit rimam, per quam elabatur, ſi quando fides eſſet præſtanda. Adag. Poly.

The French king was tied by article, betweene him and the Duke of *Millan*, in liew of his great aide, and furtherance of his warres in *Italie*, to conferre vpon him the principalitie of *Taranto*, ſo ſoone as he had conquered *Naples*. The conqueſt is made: the yong king fled the land: All the Cities, Fortreſſes and Prouinces, with all the States, Commons and Barons (except ſome three or foure) are come in to his obedience. The Duke demands his due, by the couenant. The King ſhifts him off with this nice conſtruction, that ſo long as any one peece or Peere held out, the conqueſt could not be vnderſtood perfect: and yet in the kings treatie with *Florence*, the conqueſt was then to be vnderſtood perfect, ſo ſoone as the citie of *Naples* ſhould be taken, and quietly poſſeſſed. In ſemblable manner, *Ferdinand* and *Iſabel*, King and Queene of *Arragon* and *Caſtile*, had articled with *Charles* the 8. that they ſhould neither directly or indirectly hinder his conqueſt of *Naples*: and yet they are now readie to enter in league with other States againſt him, and to driue him out of *Italie*. They haue this euaſion for their oath, that there is a clauſe in that article, *not to be bound to anything in preiudice of the Church*: ſo that if the Pope (who challenged to be chiefe Lord of *Naples*) required their aide for the recouerie of that kingdom, (as now he did) they might do it, the article notwithſtanding.

APHORISME XIII.

TO keepe a field from ouer-growing with weeds, is to plucke them vp in the ſpring: and to preſerue ones bodie from ouer-charging with diſeaſe, is to purge the bad humours betime. 2 Such ſeeds of ſedition, and weeds of warre, are Suſpition and Iealouſie. If they be not nipped in the bud, they bring forth much ſower fruite, of trouble and danger.

Perſ.Sat.3. 1 *Helleborum fruſtra, cum iam cutis ægra tumeſcit,*
Poſcentes videas: venienti occurrite morbo.

Pacat.paneg. *A paruis veniunt ſumma mala principijs.*

Cic.5.de fin. *Omnium rerum principia parua ſunt, ſed ſuis progreſsionibus vſu augentur.*

Tac.An 14. *Modicis remedijs primi motus conſedêre.*

Arioſt.agg.2 2 *il ſoſpetto peggior di tutti mali,*
Spirto peggior d' ogni maluaggia peſte:
Che, l' infelici menti de mortali
Con velenoſo ſtimolo moleſte.

Por.in Guic. l.15. *Il Soſpetto cominciato fa, che tutte le coſe ſi ripiglino, in mala parte.*

Id.l.16. *Dietro al Soſpetto, viene l' odio: dietro all' odio, offeſe: con l' offeſe la congionzione, & intrinſichezza co' nemici di chi s' offende.*

Arioſt. can. 2 *Queſta Peſte lor' ricorda i danni*
E morti dati, ô in paleſe, ô in aſcoſo,
Quinci dimoſtra che timor ſol' d' vno
Han tutti gl' altri, & eſsi n' han d' ogni vno.

Arioſt. *— Se non foſſe l' huomo ſempre ſtimolato*
Da quel ſoſpettorio, da quel timore,
Da quel furor, da quella freneſia,
Da quella rabbia, detta geloſia.

The proceedings of the Duke of *Millan*, are ſuſpected by *Charles* the 8: he therefore with gifts and large promiſes, aſſures to himſelfe the Cardinall *Fregoſo* and *Obietto Fieſco*, two fit inſtruments for him, to ſtirre any troubles in *Genoa*. He entertaines alſo in pay, with the conduct of one hundred Lances, *Iohn-Iacob Triultio*, the head of the Guelph-faction in *Millan*, and the Dukes ſworne enemie. On the other ſide, the Duke growes iealous of the

the French kings greatneſſe, and of his affection to him and his State: he feares that the vaſte thoughts of his ambition, would not limit themſelues within the confines of the kingdome of *Naples*. He therefore makes ſtay of the twelue Gallies that were in readineſſe at *Genoa*, for the kings ſeruice, and forbids any other to be manned or armed for his vſe: and is readie with the firſt, to make warre vpon him.

APHORISME XIIII.

IN [1] *a ſtrict morall ſenſe, to ſpeake and not to thinke, is rather leaſing then ingenuitie, and therefore reprooueable.* [2] *But neceſſitie giues a larger latitude, and freer ſcope, to the manage of great affaires. For, nothing is here more expedient, then that the enemie know nothing of our deliberations, till they be put in action, nor of our preparations till they be on foote. It is therefore a vſuall and vſefull pollicie, when ſuch forces are prepared, either by ſea or land, to pretend them for one ſeruice, and intend another.*

1 *Aliud corde premunt, aliud ore promunt.* Eraſm.
Aliud ore, aliud animo, omnia diſſimulans. Cuſp. de Tib.
Ben s' ode il ragionar, ſi vede il volto. Arioſt. can. 6
Ma dentro il petto, mal giudicar puoſsi.
Laudem occulto magis tramite, quàm aperta via, petunt. Valer. l. 7. c. 3
2 *Nulla ſunt meliora conſilia, quàm quæ ignorauerit hoſtis, antequam fiunt.* Veget. l. 3.
Fieri quid debeat, cum multis tracta: Quid facturus ſis, cum pauciſsimis, vel potiùs ipſe tecum. Veget. l. 3.
Sententiam ſuam celent Principes. Lip. pol. l. 3.
Ageſilaus miſit qui rumorem ſpargerent, eum (ad decipiendum Tiſaphernem) apertè & manifeſtò ad Lydiam contendere, clàm verò & occultè ad Cariam: Perſa, Cariæ præſidium imponit: Lacon, Lydiam infeſtat. Polyæ. ſtra. l. 2.
Prudentiſsimi Principes ita ſe comparant, vt quæ minimè omnium fieri cupiunt, ea ſe iactent eſſe facturos. Bod. l. 3.
Nec oſtenderunt bellum priùs quàm intulerunt. Liu. de Sab.
Nihil magis optandum, quàm vt rerum gerendarum conſilia, quoad eius fieri poterit, quàm maximè occulta ſint. Bod. l. 3.

Ferdinand and *Iſabel*, King and Queene of *Spaine*, prepare a great nauie, furniſh it with great ſtore of land forces, both horſe and foote, beſides armour, munition, and all other warlicke habillements. The doubtfull and iealous eye of the French king looketh this way, and would faine be ſatisfied, what Expedition thoſe great preparations intended. The Spaniard giues out to the world, that thoſe forces were onely leuied for defence of his owne kingdome of *Sicilia*, and aſſurance of his other States, againſt all ſodaine irruptions whatſoeuer. But it was indeed (as it after manifeſtly appeared) to aſſiſt the Pope and Arragoneſe, againſt the French, for the recouerie of the kingdome of *Naples*, and the driuing him quite out of *Italie*.

APHORISME XV.

THe Councell of State is the Cabinet of the Commonwealth, Deliberations the Iewels, and Secreſie the lock which ſhuts vp this treaſure from others; then which, nothing more aduanceth the Publicke buſineſſe. Hence is it, that confederate Princes intimate many times to the world, the generall cauſe of their combination; and reſerue to their owne ſecreſie, and for fitter times, the particulars of greateſt moment.

Terent. And. *Opus eſt ijs, quas in te ſemper intellexi, Fide & Taciturnitate.*

Liui. l. 2. *Arcana Regni, mira celant fide: Non metus, non ſpes, elicit vocem, quâ prodantur occulta.*

Valer. l. 1. *Taciturnitas, optimum atque tutiſsimum rerum adminiſtrandarum vinculum.*

Leo Imp. de app. bell. *Vbi optimum ex omnibus conſilijs reperis, apud te ſolum tene: ne aduerſarijs hoc indicetur, & inſidijs eorum appetare.*

Polyb. l. 19. *Primum præcipuumq; eorum, quæ ad fœlicem conſilij exitum requiruntur, eſt ſilere.*

Sen. Hip. *Alium ſilere quod voles priùs ſile.*

Curt. l. 4. *Nulla res magna ſuſtineri poteſt ab eo, cui tacere graue eſt.*

Ouid. *Quis minor eſt autem quàm tacuiſſe labor?*

Laer. in Sol. *Nemo ſtultus tacere poteſt.*

Liui. l 42. *Eumenes, cùm Romam veniſſet, & Regem Perſen in Senatu accuſaſſet, & de toto*

toto bello cum Patribus deliberaſſet: in præſentia nihil, præterquam fuiſſe in Curia regem, ſcire quiſquam potuit.

Apud Perſas, nemo conſiliorum eſt conſcius, præter optimates taciturnos & fidos: Apud quos Silentij quoque colitur Numen. Ammian.l.21

The proſperous ſucceſſe of *Charles* the 8. cauſed the king of Romanes, the Pope, the king of *Spaine*, the Duke of *Millan*, and State of *Venice*, to contract a ſtrong confederation againſt him: it is proclaimed in *Venice*, where all their Embaſſadors are met to that purpoſe. The Proclamation onely imported, that this League was made for defence of their States, the one of the other: but it was by them capitulated in Articles more particular and ſecret, that the Spaniſh Armada, which was now in *Sicile*, ſhould aſſiſt *Ferdinand* to recouer his kingdome of *Naples*. That at the ſame inſtant, the Venetians ſhould by ſea aſſaile the Coaſt townes of that Realme. That the Duke of *Millan* ſhould attempt the taking in of *Aſti*, to impeach and ſtoppe the paſſage to all ſuccours, that ſhould come out of *France* that way. And that the reſt of the confederates ſhould contribute a certaine ſumme of money (in ſuch proportion as was ſecretly agreed on betweene them) to the king of Romanes, and the king of *Spaine*, towards their charge in warring vpon the Realme of *France* it ſelfe: to be ſet vpon by them, in two ſeuerall places at the ſame time.

APHORISME XVI.

HE [1] liueth ſafely, that liueth cloſely, and prouides to meete Danger, which way ſoeuer it cometh. [2] Therefore, when Princes be vp in armes round about vs, and we in doubt whether ſide to take, it is good pollicie ſo to forecaſt, as we may make our owne State ſure, whoſoeuer is victor, and ſaue our owne ſtake, whoſoeuer is loſer.

1 *Crede mihi, benè qui latuit, benè vixit, & intra*
Fortunam debet quiſque manere ſuam. Ouid.triſt.3.

Licet

Senec.ep. *Licet foris resonent omnia, dum intus tumultus non sit, dum inter se cupiditas & timor non rixentur, benè est animo.*

Cicero. *Ad quoduis aduersæ fortunæ supercilium, ex omni parte quadratus.*

Curt.l.4. 2 *Suam quisque fortunam in consilio habeat, cum de aliena deliberat.*

Lip.pol.l.4. *Aut iunge te, aut iuua: quid si occultè.*

Arist.pol.l.1. *Cautè in pericula descendendum, alioquin temeritatis erit.*

Tacit. hist.2. *Quando hostis imprudentiâ ruat, (quod loco Sapientiæ est) alienam stultitiam opperiri iuuat.*

Dio.Hal.l.8. *Plerumque vtilis & tuta est dilatio.*

The Duke of *Ferrara* is required to enter the League with those other confederates, against *Charles* the 8. He refuseth: he holdeth himselfe fast to his French alliance: yet he suffereth his sonne and heire *Alphonso*, to be entertained by the Duke of *Millan*, with charge of one hundred and fiftie men at armes, and title of Lieutenant-generall of all his forces. This course tooke the old Duke (*con cautela Italiana*) that the sonne might make his fathers peace, in case the leaguers preuailed: and himselfe might free his sonne, if the French had the better.

APHORISME XVII.

FRiendship in Court, is like Musicke at a feast: a man hath nothing but a sweete sound for his monie. Or rather, it is like those Apothecarie Drugs, which are hot in the mouth, and cold in the operation. It is quicke to promise, and slow to performe; receiuing substance, and returning smoake: sometimes it moueth the clients cause, but seldome vrgeth it to preuaile.

Plin pan. *In domo Principum, nomen tantùm amicitiæ, inane irritumq; permanet.*

Sen.Her.fur. ——— *In Aula*
Cùm tot populis stipatus eas,
In tot populis vix vna fides.

Petrar. *Caducæ amicitiæ, quarum delectatio vel vtilitas fundamentum: Nam & stantibus illis tremunt, & recedentibus ruunt.*

Plaut.Bacch. *Multi more atque exemplo isto viuunt, quos cum censeas*
esse amicos, reperiuntur falsi falsimonijs:
Lingua factiosi, inertes opera, sublesta fide.

Pauci

Pauci ex multis amici ſunt homines, qui certi ſient. Plaut.Pſeud
Ω φίλοι, ἀδεὶς φίλος. Ariſt.apud
Vſibus edocto ſi quidquam credis amico, Laert.
Viue tibi: & longè nomina magna fuge. Ouid.triſt.3.
Piene d' inſidie, e di ſoſpetti
Corte Regali, e ſplendidi Palagi: Arioſt.cant.
Oue la Carità è in tutto eſtinta, 44.
Ne ſi vede Amicizia ſe non finta.

The Cardinall S. *Malò*, a man of great ſway in the French Court, and eſpecially fauoured of the King, had receiued great ſummes of the Florentines, to ſtand their ſure friend, in all their occaſions of ſuite to his Maieſtie. He vndertooke the matter, and aſſured them, not to faile. *Naples* being now conquered, and reduced to the French obedience, they are inſtant ſutors (according to the Articles of agreement betweene the king and them) that he would ſurrender them vp their cautionary townes, and not fauour the Piſans cauſe againſt them. Many of the Court perſwade the king to the contrary, but the Cardinals power was greater then all theirs, if he would haue vrged it: for hee might haue preſſed the king with the oath he had taken, and the money and aide he had receiued. Yet, not to oppoſe himſelfe ouer-ſtiffly againſt other eminent men in the Court, he deales coldly in their buſineſſe, and ſo they loſe their money, and faile in their ſuite.

APHORISME XVIII.

IN the honour of great achieuements, other men partake with the Prince, according to the meaſure of their place and merite. But the well or ill ordering of the things achieued, redounds wholly to his owne proper glorie, or ſhame. He is therefore to haue eſpeciall care in the eſtabliſhment of his new gouernment, that euery thing be reigled according to rule and order.

For, it is greater honour to come off with iudgement, then to go on with courage: to vſe victorie wiſely, then to get it happily: and more glorie to retaine a new Poſſeſsion, then to obtaine it.

Terent. 1 *Tute hoc intriſti, tibi omne eſt exedendum.*

Salu.ad Cęſ. *Faber eſt quiſque fortunæ ſuæ.*

Curt.l.4. 2 *Facilius eſt quædam vincere, quàm victa tenere.*

Publi. *Fortunam citiùs reperias, quàm retineas.*

Ouid. *Non minor eſt virtus, quàm quærere, parta tueri.*

Sen. *Plus eſt ſeruaſſe, quàm quæſiiſſe decus.*

Liui. *Parari ſingula acquirendo, faciliùs poſſunt, quàm vniuerſa teneri.*

Flor. l.4. *Difficilius eſt Prouincias obtinere, quàm parare: viribus parantur, iure obtinentur.*

Egeſ.l.1.c.13 *Conſultius eſt, ſua tutari, quàm aliena adiungere.*

Lucan.l.1. *O faciles dare ſumma Deos, eademq; tueri —— difficiles.*

Senec. *Parare & quærere arduum, tueri difficilius.*

Liui.l.37. *Non minus eſt quæſita tueri, quàm quærere: alioqui quærendi nulla foret vtilitas: nihilq; aliud eſſet quàm cribro haurire.*

Am.in Plut. Cicero. *Il eſt beaucoup plus fait, de garder vn eſtat de ne tomber en ruine, que de l'aggrandir, & enricher.*

The French king had with incredible ſucceſſe and vnheard-of fortune, impatroniſed himſelfe of the kingdome of *Naples*: hitherto rather fortune then force, ſeemed to fight for him. But now he omits to follow that happie current, and take in thoſe few places which yet held out, and which with ſmall danger or charge he might haue reduced vnder obedience. His ſouldiers giue themſelues ouer to pleaſure and eaſe. The State yet vnſetled, is not regled with ſuch order and prouidence, as was meet. He refuſeth to heare poore petitioners, or complainants, and to redreſſe their wrongs: he referreth ſuch buſineſſe to his Courtiers; who either through inſufficiencie were vnable, or through auarice vnfit, to determine ſuch cauſes. The Neapolitan Nobilitie were not regarded, nor ſo graciouſly vſed as they ought: their deſerts vnrewarded, and themſelues debarred from audience, or acceſſe to the King. The Aniowine faction (of his owne partie) were put off from day to day, from the reſtitution of their lands and eſtates, with many difficulties and dilatorie procraſtinations. Fauours and graces were obtained by none, but

thoſe

thoſe which paid well for the purchaſe, and taken from others without iuſt cauſe. The Domaines of the Crowne, and offices of the State, were conferred onely vpon the French. The diſorders and outrages of the ſouldiers in thoſe places where they were quartered, were many and great. Theſe were the chiefe cauſes of the declination of the French affaires, of Fortunes turning her backe towards them, and of the Neapolitans reuolt from them. VVho were not ſo forward before to incline to their part, as they are now willing to returne to the Arragoneſe. Neither had they in times paſt, the crueltie of their king in ſuch deteſtation, as now they haue his baniſhment and miſery in commiſeration. VVhereof ſtrange effects not long after followed.

APHORISME XIX.

THe inconſtant multitude, is naturally deſirous of noueltie, and apt for change: hoping for more then they ſhould, and enduring leſſe then they ought; and euer in diſlike with the preſent times. They conſider not, that though they change their Lord, they change not their tenure; though they quit their olde maſter, yet they are ſtill in ſeruice. They ſhould therefore purge this humour of new-fangledneſſe, and remember, that if the ſame condition of ſeruitude cannot be auoided, it skils not whether it be vnder Lo. Iohn, or Lo. Thomas: and ſo ſit ſtill.

La natura de' populi, è inclinata à ſperar più di quel che ſi debbe, & à tollerar meno, di quel ch' è neceſſario, & ad hauer in faſtidio le coſe preſenti. Por. in Guic. l. 20.

Eſt natura hominum nouitatis auida. Plin.

Subita & repentina ingenia, quæ nouis ſemper rebus ſtudent, & ad bellum mobiliter, celeriterq́; incitantur. Cæſ. com. l. 4

Quòd ſunt in conſilijs capiendis mobiles, & nouis rebus ſtudentes, nihil his committendum ſtatuit. Id. Com. l. 3. de Gallis.

Quîd fit Mecænas, vt nemo quam ſibi ſortem
Seu ratio dederit, ſeu fors obiecerit, illâ
Contentus viuat? laudet diuerſa ſequentes? Horat. ſerm. l. 1. Sat. 1.

Vulgus cuiuſque motus noui cupidum. Tacit. hiſt. l. 1

Horat. Vir. Æn.l.1. *Rome Tibur amo ventoſus, Tibure Romam.*
Sæuit q; animis ignobile vulgus.

Before the coming of the French, the Neapolitans deſired nothing more then their coming. They murmured againſt the gouernment of old *Ferdinand* and *Alphonſo*. They exclaimed of their crueltie to the Nobles, and oppreſſion of the Commons. The French is now come: he hath eaſed them of many Impoſitions and taxes: in ſtead of which grieuances, he hath giuen them priuiledges and exemptions, to the yearly valew of two hundred thouſand Duckats. Yet are they againe weary of their new Lord. They call paſſionately to mind, the Oration which yong *Ferdinand* made to them at his departure. They promiſe themſelues greater happineſſe vnder his Rule. They excuſe his fathers crueltie, with the name of iuſt ſeueritie; and his pride and inſolencie, with the faire titles of nobleneſſe of heart and princely courage. And againe deſire to haue him rule ouer them.

APHORISME XX.

When [1] *an humour is ſtrong and predominant, it not onely conuerteth his proper nutriment, but euen that which is apt for contrary humors, into it owne nature and qualitie.* [2] *Of like force is a ſtrong and wilfull Deſire, in the minde of man: for, it not onely feeds vpon agreeable motions, but makes euen thoſe reaſons which are ſtrongeſt againſt it, to be moſt for it.*

Gal.loc.aff. l.6. 1 *Vitioſo humore genito, pars princeps aliqua conſentit, à qua totum corpus celeriter alteratur.*

Plutar. *Sicut Hædera mirè valet, ex quálibet ſe alligare anſa.*

Dorot. *Sic Regula obliqua, quæ rectа ſunt, obliquat.*

Dion.halica. 2 *Alia mens indigentibus, alia aſſecutis quibus eguerunt.*

Lip.pol.l.3. *Fiducia valde obnoxia in conſilijs, quia ſuas alienaſq; vires parùm librat: & euentus omnes aptat ad ſua vota.*

Sen Oed. *Æger animus, falſa pro veris videt.*

Martial.l.2. *Reges & Dominos habere debet*

Qui

Qui ſe non habet, atque concupiſcit,
Quod reges dominiq; concupiſcunt.

Polybij ſanum hic dogma, iubentis, nunquam de futuris rebus, tanquam iam factis, deliberare. Lip.an.l.3.

Sed quia cæcus ineſt vitijs amor, omne futurum
Deſpicitur, ſuadentq; breuem præſentia fructum,
Et ruit in vetitum damni ſecura libido. Claud.Eutr.

Euertêre domos totas optantibus ipſis
Dij faciles: nocitura togâ, nocitura petuntur
Militiâ.—— Iuuen.Sat.10

The conqueſt of *Naples* is not yet abſolutely perfect: ſome places are vntaken: many controuerſies vndecided: the State not well ſetled: neuer more need of the French kings ſtay in thoſe parts, preſence in thoſe buſineſſe, and prudence in perfecting and ſetting all things ſtraight. But the king hath a great longing to returne into his country, and follow his former pleaſures. All the Court is of like humor, and thinke no aire ſo ſweet as that of *France*. VVhile they burne in this hot deſire, comes newes of the ſtrong confederation againſt him, which might in reaſon haue cooled him: and before he could ſet forward on his iourney, comes an alarme, that the Venetian fleete is vpon his coaſt in *Puglia*: that *Alphonſo* and the Spaniards are landed in *Calabria*: then which nothing could be more forcible to cauſe his ſtay; except he meant wilfully to loſe that by his owne fault, which fortune had ſo ſuddenly caſt vpon him. Yet he and his Courtiers confidently conſtrue all the contrary way, and make it the chiefe reaſon of their more haſtie returne.

APHORISME XXI.

A Man may be ouercome of his enemie, either by fortune or aduantage: which, when they alter, he may recouer his honour, and repaire his loſſe; becauſe he ſtill hath the heart and courage which he had at firſt. But he that is ouercome of his owne paſsions, is in deſperate caſe: becauſe the inward hold, which

was his owne, is loſt. It is therefore the greateſt victorie to ouercome ones ſelfe; and to giue his Iudgement power ouer his affections; which will euer aduiſe him to vnmask thoſe blinde guides, and to looke to that courſe which is moſt for his honour and ſafetie.

Seneca. — *Flecte mentem, pectus antiquum aduoca*
Victaſq; magno pectore ærumnas doma:
Reſiſte: tantis in malis vinci malum eſt.

Plaut.Trin. *Qui animum (i. affectiones) vincunt, quàm quos animus, ſemper probiores cluent.*

Car.Pro. *Fortior eſt qui ſe, quàm qui fortiſsima vincit*
Mœnia.—

Ariſt.pol.l.3 Οὐκ ἔστιν ἐυάρχειν, τὸν μὴ ἀρχθέντα. *i. Regere nequit qui non regitur.*

Dion. *Si omnia quæ alium quemuis in te imperantem facere velles, ea ipſe tua ſponte feceris, nec peccabis quicquam, & omnia ritè diriges, & vitam ex eo iucundiſsimam & beatiſsimam viues.*

Plaut.Trin. *Si animus hominem perpulit, actum eſt animo ſeruiuit, non ſibi:*
Si ipſe animum perpulit, dum viuit victor victorum cluet:
Tu, ſi animum vicisti potiùs, quàm animus te, eſt quod gaudeas.

Sen.ep.37. *Multos reges, ſi ratio te rexerit.*

Hor.2.od.2. *Latius regnes, auidum domando*
Spiritum, quàm ſi Libiam remotis
Gadibus iungas, & vterque Pœnus
Seruiat vni.

Charles the 8. is not yet ſurely ſeated in the royall throne and full poſſeſſion of the kingdome of *Naples*. His enemies begin againe to hold vp their heads. Hereupon he is in conflict with himſelfe, whether to returne home, or ſtay. Principles of warre, and rules of State, pleade his ſtay: but the deſire of enioying his home-pleaſures, haue the more fauourable audience and powerfull perſwaſions, in a minde captiuated to his owne paſſions, and preuailes. He diſpoſeth thus of his affaires: the one halfe of his troupes he takes with him, for the ſafe-guard of his perſon; the remainder he leaues behind, for defence of his late conquered kingdome. The troupes he left were theſe: one halfe of the Swiſſe and French foote: eight hundred French lances: and fiue hundred men at armes, Italians: vnder the leading of the Præfect of *Rome*, *Proſpero*, and *Fabritio Colonna*, and *Antonio Sauello*, Captaines rewarded by him, with many faire Eſtates: beſides

ſides thoſe Princes and Barons of the Realme, that were ſure on his ſide: and *Gilbert Monpenſier* to command all in chiefe, whom he deputed Generall for the warres; a man more eſteemed for his greatneſſe of Eſtate, and nearneſſe in bloud to the King, then for his owne valour or ſufficiencie. *D'Aubigni* was left Great Conſtable of the kingdome, and Gouernour of *Calabria*. *Belcari* was made high Chamberlaine, and Gouernour of *Gaetta*. The Prince of *Salerno* was reſtored to his office of high Admirall. By this diuiſion of his forces (violently forced by his deſire to returne) he neither left the kingdome well aſſured, nor his perſon without manifeſt hazard; as ſhortly after appeared.

APHORISME XXII.

WE may not meaſure the ſize of Wiſdome, by the Laſt of Fortune: for, Euent is the tutor of fooles; to preuent is more iudgement. Therefore the priuate man will ſo farre forth relieue his diſtreſſed neighbor, as that he leaue not himſelfe vnprouided: for (ſaith he) Charitie begins with it ſelfe.[2] *In like maner, it is good policie in States, ſo to furniſh their allies in time of need, as they diſfurniſh not themſelues, and ſtand at the mercie of fortune, and euent.*

1 *L'Euento, è il Maeſtro de' ſtolti.*

—— Careat ſucceſſibus opto,
Quiſquis ab euentu facta notanda putat.

Parut.l.2.d.5
Ouid.ep.

Benè vbi quod conſiliũ diſcimus accidiſſe, hominem catum eum eſſe declaramus, Stultum autem illum cui vertit malè.

Plaut. Pſeud

La Riſolutione ch'è buona, deue eſſer miſurata dalle Ragioni, che ti hanno moſſo à farla: non dal ſucceſſo che ne ſegue: Delquale, perche puo auuenire fuor d'ogni penſiero humano, e d'ogni ragione, niuno è obligato a renderne conto.

Bot.l.2.de Eccel.Capit.

C'eſt mal fait de loüer ou blaſmer les entrepriſes, par la fin qu'en reüſsit: & meſurer la Sageſſe au pied de la Fortune.

Bodin.rep. l.3.

2 *Ita æquum eſt, me veſtra meis armis tutari, ne mea interim nudentur præſidijs.*

Liui.l.31.

Proximus ſum egomet mihi.

Terent.

The French king is returning towards *Rome*: he is denied the In-

Inueſtiture in his new kingdome: the Pope feares himſelfe and his Eſtate. He therfore requires aide of the Venetians, and Duke of *Millan*. They readily aſſigne him one thouſand light horſe, and two thouſand foote; with promiſe of one thouſand men at armes more. But afterwards they call the matter to better deliberation; they conſider the danger of ſending their troupes ſo farre from their owne States, by former examples, whereof they had repented. They find that the power left behind, was not ſufficient to defend themſelues. They call to mind the Popes fallhood, who had *Ferdinands* army in *Rome*, for his ſafetie, but the yeare before, and yet vpon the kings firſt approch, made them perforce quit the towne to the French. They will not at their owne hazard make new triall of his honeſtie: and therefore they perſwade him to retire himſelfe into ſome place of ſtrength, till the kings army were paſt; and ſo vpon better aduice keepe the forces promiſed, for their owne vſe.

APHORISME XXIII.

THe[1] tongue and the hand are vnruly members, where honeſtie and reaſon haue not the ruling of them. The tongue is alwaies the more readie; but the hand in this is the more dangerous: that, what is ſpoken may be helped, by ſuppoſition of miſtaking, or diſagreement in the reporters, or death: whereas that of the hand appeareth to poſteritie, ſuruiueth the ſpeaker and hearers, and remaineth as a thouſand witneſſes.[2] *Wherefore as no vice laies a more foule aſperſion vpon man, then that of ingratitude:*[3] *So no euidence is ſo ſtrong to taint him therewith, or conuict him thereof, as his owne hand-writing in deteſtation of that vice, and approbation of the contrarie.*

Mac. diſc. 3.

1 *Incautus fuerit, ſi propria manu tale aliquid comprehenderit: A qua vtique re, vnicè cauere debes: Quòd nihil ſit quo tam facilè conuincaris.*

Carm. Pro. Plaut.

Vox audita perit, ſed litera ſcripta manebit.

Qui audiunt, audita dicunt: qui vident, planè ſciunt.

Lingua

Lingua mali pars peſsima ſerui. Iuuen. Sat. 9.
Iſtis eſt Theſaurus ſtultis in lingua ſitus, Plaut. Pæn.
Vt quæſtui habeant malè loqui melioribus.

2 *Si come tradimento, non ha pena, che à baſtanza lo caſtighi: così l'ingratitudine non ha baiaſimo, che à ſufficienza la vituperi.* Remig. Flor.

Tanto turpius gratiam non referre, quanto honeſtior cauſa referendæ. Plin. 8. ep. 12
Omne dixeris maledictum, cum ingratum hominem dixeris. Pub. Mim.

3 *Video barbam & pallium, Philoſophum non video.* Gell. l. 9.

Pacuuij verſum Macedo Philoſophus ſcribi debere cenſebat præ foribus omnium templorum: Ego odi homines ignaua opera, & philoſopha ſententia. Gell. l. 13.

Plerique Philoſophi ἄνευ τοῦ πράττειν, μέχρι τοῦ λέγειν. *i. Factis procul, verbis tenus.* Gell. l. 17.

Iohn-Iouian Pontano a man ſingularly learned in all knowledge of good letters, had to his high commendation publiſhed ſome workes of the morall vertues: had bene Tutor to *Alphonſo* in his minoritie: had long bene Secretary to him and his father: had bene greatly preferred, and enriched by them both. This man notwithſtanding, at the Coronation of *Charles* the 8. in *Naples*, made the gratulatory Oration, in the name of the whole citie: wherein he ſtrained his eloquence (but more his honeſtie) not ſo much in extolling and magnifying the French, as in deprauing and detracting from his olde Maſters, to his owne perpetuall ſhame, and diſlike euen of the French themſelues. So hard it is for ſome men to obſerue thoſe precepts in their owne courſe of life, which with ſingular learning and iudgement they haue taught to others.

APHORISME XXIIII.

THere[1] *is much wiſedome in that Prince who can iudge of the ſeuerall aduices giuen by his Counſellors; yet greater is his vertue that can diſcerne and follow the beſt: but his ſagacitie is ſingular, that can diue into their inward thoughts and purpoſes who giue it.*[2] *Becauſe it is dangerous to be carried away with that counſell, which tendeth onely to the particular profit of the counſellor.*[3] *For where the Prince is of ſo eaſie and tractable a*

nature, it were better for the State to haue him wicked, then for him to haue ſuch wicked miniſters.

Liui.l.22. 1 *Sæpe audiui eum primum eſſe virum, qui ipſe conſulat, quod in rem ſit: ſecundum eum, qui benè monenti obediat: Qui nec ipſe conſulere, nec alteri parêre ſcit, eum eſſe extremi ingenij.*

Cic.pro Clu. *Sapientiſsimum eſſe dicunt eum, cui quid opus ſit, ipſi veniat in mentem: proximè accedere eum, qui alterius benè inuentis obtemperet.*

Heſiod.l.1. Ὄυτος μὲν παναρίστος ὅς ἀυτῷ πάντα νοήσει,
ἐσθλὸς δὲ κακεῖνος. ὃς ἐυ εἰπόντι πίθηται:
ὅ δὲ κε μηθ' αὐτῷ νοέῃ, μὴ τ' ἄλλου ἀκούων,
ἔν θυμῷ βάλληται, ὅ δ' αὖτ' ἀχρήϊος ἀνήρ. 1.

Plurimùm ſapit, qui ſibi ipſe per omnia ſapit: etiam ille qui benè monenti obtemperat: at qui nec ſibi ſapit, nec alium audire monentem in animum induxit, inutilis prorſus hic vir eſt.

Vellei.l.2. *Rarò eminentes viros non magnis adiutoribus, ad gubernandam fortunam ſuam reperies.*

Cic.ad Q.fra Am.Plu.Dē. 2 *In aures Principum, fictè ac ſimulatè, queſtus ſui gratia, inſuſurrant. Ceux qui ne viſent qu'à leur particulier, enſeruent aux grands, ſe deſpenſent aiſement de leur foy.*

Lam.in Alex 3 *Melior eſt Reſpub. in qua Princeps malus, ea, in qua mali ſunt Principis miniſtri.*

Tacit. *Tiberius Princeps crudelis & auarus; Seruitia habuit modeſta: Galba Princeps haud malus, præpotentes habuit libertos, omnia venalia offerentes.*

Amirat.ibid. *I mali dell' vna & dell' altera corte, erano egualmente graui, ma non egualmente ſcuſati.*

The French armie is at *Siena*. The kings Councell aduiſeth to make haſte, before the confederates ſhould haue leuied their forces, and be drawne to a head, to impeach their paſſage backe. The Florentines require againe with greater inſtance then before, the reſtitution of their cautionary townes. They offer him in conſideration, the thirtie thouſand Duckats yet behind, due by the treatie, as alſo to lend him three ſcore thouſand more. Moreouer to ſend him for his ſafe-gard out of *Italie*, three hundred men at armes, and two thouſand foote, vnder their Generall *Franceſco Secco*, and to attend his army as farre as *Aſti*. All the Councell thought theſe offers large, and moſt needfull for the king to accept, in this time of vrgent neceſſitie, and extreame danger: as alſo their demand to be moſt honeſt, iuſt, and reaſonable. Onely *Ligny*, an vnexperienced yong man, couſen-

germane

germane to the king by the mother, and now the onely fauourite (in diſdaine that the Florentines vſed the mediation of the Cardinall *S. Malò*, and not his, and to haue the gouernment of *Siena*, whereto he aſpired) being ſeconded by *Monſieur de Pienes*, who alſo looked for the gouernment of *Piſa* and *Ligorne*, perſwade the king to the contrary, and preuaile: to the breach of his promiſe and oath, and to the endangering of his perſon and whole armie in that iourney.

APHORISME XXV.

THe[1] *riuer Nouanus in Lombardie, at euery mid-ſommer Solſtice, ſwelleth and runneth ouer the bankes, but in mid-winter is cleane drie.*[2] *Such is the nature of men, vnreſolued to ſeuerall fortunes: they ſwell in the ſunne-ſhine of their proſperitie, but when ſtormes of danger and trouble ariſe, they are dried vp with deſpaire. For a minde vnprepared for deſaſter, is vnfurniſhed to ſuſtaine it when it cometh. He that ſoareth too high in the one fortune, ſinketh too low in the other. Inſolent brauing and baſe feare, are indiuiduall and vnſeparable companions.*[3] *But the reſolued man, is euer the ſame, in the period of both fortunes.*

1 *In agro Pitinate, trans Appenninum, fluuius Nouanus omnibus ſolſtitijs torrens, brumâ ſiccatur.* Plin.nat. hiſt l.2.c.103.

2 *Suas vires extollere, hoſtium paucitatem contemnere, circumferri vinum largiùs iubent: debellaturi ſuper menſa ipſum Alexandrum.* Curt.l.7.

Verè galeati lepores, quibus in pedes mens decidit imos. Homer.Il.

O tumide, rerum dum ſecundarum ſtatus
Extollit animos: timide cum increpuit metus
Regum tyranne.—— Sen.Tro.

Rebus ſecundis auidi, aduerſis incauti ſumus. Tacit.An.1.

——Ch'vna Nouella Arioſt.agg.2
Mai più di venti ô trenta di non campi:
Perche vien dietro, vn' altra che l' vccide
E piangerà doman, l' huomo ch' hoggi ride.

3 *Secunda fœlices, aduerſa magnos probant.* Plin.pan.

Ἔν τοῦτ' γάρ ἐστιν ἀνδρὸς διάφορος ἕξις τῷ, τὸ δὲ κακὸν εὖ φέρειν καὶ ἀγαθόν. *i. In hoc enim* Philo.

vir viro præſtat, quòd & bonum & malum benè ferat.

Hor. 1. Od. *Sperat infeſtis, metuit ſecundis*
Alteram ſortem, benè præparatum
Pectus.——

Lucan. ——*Fortiſsimus ille eſt*
Qui promptus metuenda pati, ſi cominus inſtent,
Et differre poteſt.

The Duke of *Millan* had raiſed great forces, with his confederates, to impeach the French King in his returne, and to bid him battaile vpon the way. He hath receiued with all ſolemne pompe the priuiledges of Inueſtiture for his Dukedome, and ſworne his Fealty and Homage, to the Emperor. He hath armed tenne Gallies at *Genoa*, of his owne proper charge: and foure other great Shippes, vpon the publike. He hath ſent *Galeazzo San Seuerino*, with ſix hundred men at armes, and three thouſand foote, beſides two thouſand more raiſed in *Germany*, to beſiege *Aſti*. He is now in the height of his glorie: His State well ſetled: and his forces great. In which pride, he peremptorily commandes the Duke of *Orleans*, to quit his title and claime to *Millan* (which after the death of *Philip-Maria Viſconti*, his Father *Charles* and now he himſelfe, chalenged as their lawfull inheritance.) He inſolently forbiddes him, to ſuffer any new French forces paſſe that way into *Italy*: and to cauſe thoſe already in *Aſti*, to packe preſently ouer the mountaines, and to ſurrender the Towne into *San Seuerinos* hands: with many other threates, full of ſcorne and vanitie. But *Orleans* attends the fortification of *Aſti*: ſends for French ſupplies from *France*: takes the field with his armie: winnes the Towne and fortreſſe of *Gualfinara*: ſurpriſeth the ſtrong towne of *Nouara*: rauageth all the countrey, bringeth it vnder contribution, as farre as *Vigeuene*: and might without oppoſition haue marched euen to the walles of *Millan*. Herewith the Duke is ſo amated, as he ſheweth his feare with fruitleſſe teares; and poorely goes to the Venetian Embaſſadour, to recommend his deſperate eſtate vnto him, and to beg more forces to come to his ſuccours. And finally, fearing his owne ſubiects, (as conſcious of his vſurping, and miſ-gouernment) he diſchargeth

chargeth them by proclamation, of many tallages and impositions formerly laid vpon them.

APHORISME XXVI.

THe [1] Getulian captiue, eſcaped the danger of deuouring by many Lions, through her humble geſture, and faire language: as ſaying vnto them, that ſhe was a ſilly woman, a baniſhed fugitiue, a ſickly, feeble, and weake creature, an humble ſutor, and lowly ſuppliant for mercie. As therfore the Lion is the nobleſt of all the beaſts in the forreſt; who neuer ſhewes his force but where he findes reſiſtance: [2] So is the true ſouldier, the moſt honourable of all other profeſſions; who holds it as great a glorie to relieue the oppreſſed, as to conquer the enemie.

1 *Captiuam Getuliæ reducem audiui, multorum Leonum impetum à ſe mitigatum alloquio: auſam ſe dicere fœminam, profugam, infirmam, ſupplicem animalis omnium digniſsimi, cæteriſq; imperantis, indignam eius gloria prædam.* Plin.nat.hiſt. l.8.cap.16.

2 *Debellare hoſtes fortunæ eſt, refocillare victos, verè regium.* Panor.
Ius, à quo clementia abeſt, crux eſt. Pom.Læt.
Regia crede mihi res eſt, ſuccurrere læſis. Ouid.
Nil habet fortuna maius, quàm vt poſsit: Nec natura melius, quàm vt velit ſeruare. Cicero.
Honeſtius beneficiorum, quàm Trophæorum multitudinem relinquere. Xenoph.
Qui ſuccurrere perituro poteſt, cum non ſuccurrit, occîdit. Senec.Ben.
Quanta peruicacia in hoſtem, tanta beneficentia aduerſus ſupplices vtendum. Tac.An.12.

Che rileuar vn chi fortuna rote
Tal' hor' al fondo, e conſolar l' afflitto,
Mai non fu biaſimo, ma gloria ſouente. Arioſt.cant. 10.

Ignoſcendo populi Rom. magnitudinem auxit. Saluſt.
Di Corteſia, di gentilezza eſſempi
Fra gl' antichi guerrier' ſi vider' molti,
E pochi fra i moderni: ma de gli empi
Coſtum' auuien', ch' aſſai ne vegga e aſcolti:
Crudel Secolo, poi che pieno ſei
Di Thieſti, di Tantali, e di Atrei. Arioſt.cã.36

The diſtreſſed Piſans importune the French king to hold

them ſtill vnder his protection, againſt the Florentines: his Councell aduiſe the contrary, vpon weightie and vrgent reaſons. They bewaile their lamentable eſtate: they runne to euery meane Courtier: fall downe with their wiues and children at their feet, and deplore their miſerable condition, to moue commiſeration. No plaints, no teares, preuaile in Court: they flee to the men at armes, and the reſt of the troupes; and implore their mediation to the King in their behalfe. Theſe noble ſpirits take their complaint into a tender compaſſion: they go preſently to the King; deſire him, for the honour of himſelfe, the glorie of the Crowne of *France*, and for their owne ſakes, who had bene, and would euer be ready vpon all occaſions to ſpend the laſt droppe of their bloud in his ſeruice, to take pitie vpon the poore Piſans: and if it were for need of money that he was forced to abandon them, they offered their gold chaines, and all the reſt of their iewels, beſides ſuch money as they had: yea and rather then faile, that he ſhould keepe in his hands, and imploy to his vſe, their penſions and entertainment, due for their ſeruice. He is ouercome at their importunate ſuite; and re-aſſures them, in the word of a king, neuer to giue them ouer into the Florentines hands: howſoeuer he made ſemblance to that State of the contrary.

APHORISME XXVII.

NOthing is more neceſſarie in a Chiefe, then the perfect exploration of the courſes his enemie taketh, and a true eſtimate of the forces he bringeth: for, by the ignorance of the firſt, and miſpriſion of this other, he makes his preparations, and builds his actions vpon ſuppoſals and ſlipperie grounds; and bereaues himſelfe of many faire aduantages.

Veget. l. 3. *Ille difficilè vincitur, qui de ſuis, & aduerſarij copijs, verè poteſt iudicare.*

Omnia

Omnia ei hostium, non secus ac sua, nota erant. Liu. de Han l.22.

Nihil in Imperatore tam laudabile, quàm si hostis sui deliberationes, consiliáq; prænoscat. Macc.l.3.dis.

Celeritas & audacia, & impetus præter rationem, & vanitas ac typhus, hostibus quidem opportuna, noxia verò maximè amicis. Polyb.l.3.

Ducem scire oportet, quis ordo agminis, quæ cura explorandi, quantus vrgendo trahendóve bello modus. Tacit.An.3.

Tuum est, hostium exercitum, locorum situm, naturam regionis nosse. Liui.l.22.

Reconnoistre bien son ennemi, est vn des principaux points de la science d' vn Chef d' armée. Am.Plut. Agis.

Τὸ δὲ στρατηγεῖν τοῦτ' ἔγωγε κρίνω, καλῶς γνῶναι τὸν ἐχθρὸν, ᾗ μάλιστ' ἀλώσιμος. *i. Imperatoriam artem in hoc sitam esse puto, vt benè cognoscat hostem, quo maximè pacto possit cognosci.* Eurip.

The French van-guard is led by the Marshall of *Ghienne*: it passeth the *Appenine*, farre before the body of the army; by reason of the difficultie of carrying of the artillery ouer those mountaines. It lodgeth at *Furnouo*. The army of the confederates, which was drawne into those parts to impeach their passage, and giue them battell, and consisted of two thousand fiue hundred men at armes, eight thousand foote, and two thousand light horse, commanded in chiefe by *Francesco Gonzaga* Marquis of *Mantoa*, lieth within three Italian miles of the enemy. They suppose at first, that the French (considering his small forces) durst not haue passed by land, but would haue embarqued himselfe for *France* by sea. And now againe that he is in view, they suppose his whole forces to be there: whereas if they had had good scouts to obserue the enemies proceeding, and number, and that the battallion was farre behind; they had vndoubtedly broken the van-guard, put the rest to manifest rout, and taken from the King all meanes of passing that way to his forces in *Piedmont*, and peraduenture had little failed of seizing vpon his person: of which faire aduantages, their ignorance bereaued them.

APHO-

APHORISME XXVIII.

WHere[1] *there is no hope to eſcape, Deſpaire taketh armes: for Neceßitie makes the moſt cowards valiant.*[2] *Wherefore, leaue thine enemie a Port alwaies open, whereby he may flee: and rather then trie what he can do, (when thou ſeeſt what he would do) make him a bridge of ſiluer, that he may go his way.*

Polyæn.ſtratag.lib.1.
1 Πολλάκις δὲ ἀπόνοια δίδωσιν, ὅτα μὴ ἔδωκεν ἀνδρεία. *i. Sæpe deſperatio præſtat, quod effici virtute ac fortitudine non poſsit.*

Iuſtin.l.3.
Neceſsitas, etiam timidos, fortes facit.

Port.Lat.
Grauiſsimi ſunt morſus irritatæ neceſsitatis.

Tacit An.l.3
Vbi extrema omnia in oculis, deſperatione in audaciam accinguntur.

Ant.Pri.Tac.
Ambigui, ſi deliberant: acres, ſi deſperant.

Veget.l.3.
Clauſis in deſperatione creſcit audacia: & cum ſpei nihil eſt, ſumit arma formido.

Sil.l.1.
Et fractis rebus violentior vltima virtus.

Flor.l.2.c.15
Quàm maximè mortiferi eſſe ſolent morſus morientium beſtiarum.

Tacit.Agric.
Plus impetus, maior conſtantia, penes miſerum.

Sen.Oed.
Solent extrema ſecuros facere mala.

Tac.An.l.2.
2 *Vicit ratio parcendi: Ne ſublata ſpe venie, pertinaciâ accenderentur.*

Boter.de Scip.in Liu.
Al nemico non ſolo ſi dee laſciar la ſtrada aperta & ſpedita, ma laſtricargliela.

Rag.Stat.l.3
Non ſi dee mai ſerrar quella Porta, per laquale il nemico poſſa fuggire.

Curt.l.6.
Reprehenſi ex fuga, pugnabunt: quia fugere non poſſunt.

Am.Plu.Dē.
Le deſeſpoir fait courir aux armes, & chercher ſalut en ruine.

Polyæn.l.1.
Ageſilaus, nunciante quodam hoſtes in templum confugere: iuſsit eos abire quocunque vellent: quòd eſſet periculoſum cum ijs manum conſerere, qui ex deſperatione pugnam redintegrarent.

Licurg.in Polyæ.
Τὰς πολεμίους φεύγοντας μὴ φονεύετε, ἵνα μὴ τοῦ φεύγειν ἡγοῦντο τὸ μένειν λυσιτελέστερον. *i. Hoſtes fugientes nolite trucidare, ne potius ducant manere quàm fugere.*

A Herald is ſent from the French king to the confederate army, to demaund free paſſage. A Councell of warre is called, to reſolue of an anſwer: ſome thinke it a great blemiſh to the reputation of ſo great an army, to ſuffer the enemy paſſe, without blowes: others, conſidering the force and valour of the French lances, being all gentlemen, the aſſured firmneſſe of the Swiſſe, and their ſpeedy and incredible conueyance of their artillery

ouer

ouer thoſe mountaines, are of a contrary opinion. They ſend to *Millan* for direction. The matter is debated by the Embaſſadours of all the confederates, who were there reſiant: They of the *Empire* and *Spaine*, vrge it to a day of battell: they inferre, that otherwiſe all *Piedmont* is like to be at the diſcretion of the French, by reaſon of *Aſti* and *Nouara*: they labour to proue, that in caſe they be not fought withall, the State of *Italie* is in worſe termes then euer. They proteſt, that their maſters ſhould be forced to enter into new deliberations, and take ſome other courſe to ſtop the current of the Frenches greatneſſe, if the Italians either would not, or durſt not fight. But the Millaneſe and Venetian, whom it concerned moſt, (the enemies armie being now on their frontiers, and to be fought with by their forces) thought it the ſafer way to giue them free paſſage, leaſt the neceſſitie of fighting ſhould double the courage and force of their ſmall numbers: and ſo vpon one chance ſet the Maine of all their fortunes. This was reſolued in Counſell, and Curriers diſpatched to the campe with direction accordingly. But the nearneſſe of the armies one to another, engaged them in the fight, before the newes could come.

APHORISME XXIX.

THe[1] Topicke place in nature, that where the cauſe faileth, the effect alſo dieth: hath likewiſe his place in martiall affaires.[2] For, where men are couragious, not out of true reſolution, but out of ſome conceit of the enemies weakneſſe, or wants: they loſe that ſpirit and animoſitie, when they finde things contrary to thoſe former impreſſions.

1 *Sublata cauſa tollitur effectus.* Ariſtot.

2 *Temeritas, vbi primum impetum effudit, ſicut quædam animalia amiſſo aculeo, torpet.* Curt. l. 4.

Languebant omnium ſtudia, etiam ij qui primùm alacres, fidem atque animum oſtentabant. Tacit. An. 3.

Multorum in impetu vis eſt, qui parua quidem mora vileſcunt. Curt.

Lip.pol.l.5. *Inquire in mores, naturamq́ hoſtium: ſecuritas enim in milite fugienda.*
Vellei.l.2. *Frequentiſsimum initium calamitatis, ſecuritas.*
Liui.l.21. *Sæpe & contemptus hoſtis cruentum certamen edidit.*
Tacit. hiſt.2. *Satis citò incipis victoriam, vbi prouiſum fuerit, ne vincare.*
Claudian. *— Ne fræna animo committe calenti:*
Da ſpatium, tenuemq́ moram: malè cuncta miniſtrat
Impetus.—
Tacit. Ann.3 *Quod multos etiam bonos peſſum-dedit: qui ſpretis quæ tarda, cum ſecuritate, præmatura vel cum exitio, properant.*

The confederate army, vpon the encouragement of their Captaines, and the conſideration of the ſmall numbers of the enemy, but chiefly vpon preſumption that they durſt not make their way by the ſword, through ſo great forces, as were there ready ranged in battell, make a ſhew of excellent reſolution, and deſire to fight: on the other ſide, the French magnifie their owne valour, vilipend the Italian ſouldiers, and come brauely on. But when the Italians ſaw the gallant courage of the French, though few in number: and they againe obſerued the confederates, ſtrongly embatteled in their trenches, and with a face to fight, though before deſpiſed. both the one and the other, finde their heate cooled, and edge rebated. The French would haue bene glad of a Paſſe, quietly granted; and the Italians were as ſorie they had no warrant to grant it.

APHORISME XXX.

NOt actions of men are more ſubiect to ſodaine and vnexpected euent, then thoſe of war. 2 *And in war, nothing ſo ſoone ſnatcheth victory out of our hands, as vntimely falling to the ſpoile.* 3 *Vpon ſuch diſorder, Fortune alwaies turneth her wheel, and maketh victors of them, which before were vanquiſhed.*

Por.in Guic. 1 *Niuna noſtra operazione, è più ſoggetta à diuerſi & inopinati auuenimenti, che quelle delle battaglie: Nelle quali ben ſpeſſo ſogliono da leggieriſsimi accidenti, naſcere importantiſsimi effetti.*

Saluſt.Iug. 2 *Exercitus prædator, & ipſe præda hoſtium.*

Nimis

Nimis ſæpe obſtitit vincentibus, prauum inter ipſos certamen (omiſſo hoſte) ſpolia conſectandi. Tacit.hiſt.l 4

A præda arcendi milites, donec planè vicerint. Lip.pol.l.5.

Themiſtocles ad maris littus, torques armillaſq; paſsim diſiectas vidit, & præteriit: ſed amico qui ſequebatur dixit: Colige tu tibi, nam Themiſtocles non es. Innuens, hanc indignam eſſe prædam egregio Duce, cui gloria debet eſſe ſatis magnum virtutis præmium. Plut. Themi.

3 *Euentus præliorum, inter initia contra illos fuit, quibus victoria debebatur.* Veget.l.3.

L' honorata vittoria che s' aſpetta,
Volterà il caluo, ou' hoza il crin ne moſtra. Arioſt.cant. 36.

In the memorable battell of *Taro*, betweene the French and Italian confederates: the Marſhall of *Ghienne*, the Lord *Triultio*, and the Bailiffe of *Dijon*, led the French van-guard: the King himſelfe and the Lord of *Tramouille*, the battell: the Count of *Foix*, brought on the reare. The baggage comes behinde ſlenderly guarded. The Marquis of *Mantoa*, with a Squadron of ſixe hundred men at armes, a groſſe troupe of Eſtradiots, and ſix thouſand toote, goes to charge vpon the Reare: leaues *Antonio da Monte-feltro* at ſtand, with a ſtrong Squadron to come to the ſuccours, vpon a ſignall giuen: giues order to the other ſquadron of Eſtradiots (or Greek horſe) to charge the enemie in flanke, ſo ſoone as he had charged in front: appoints Count *Gaiazzo*, with foure hundred men at armes, and two thouſand foote, to giue vpon the van-guard: aſſignes the reſt of the Eſtradiots, to fall vpon the carriages: ſets *Hannibal Bentiuoglio* to ſtand firme, with two hundred men at armes, for ſeconds to *Gaiazzo*, when he ſhould be called. The fight is begun: the fury on both ſides great: the ſucceſſe on whether ſide doubtfull; till the valour of the Marquis *Gonzaga*, performing both the office of a worthy Commander, by his direction, and the dutie of a braue ſouldier, by his ſword, made the enemy ſtagger, and brought the oddes on his ſide. In this inſtant, thoſe Eſtradiots appointed to charge vpon the Baggage, finding no reſiſtance, fall to the ſpoile: and bring of, ſome one kinde of pillage, ſome another. Their fellowes, appointed to charge the enemie in Flank, ſeeing this, runne alſo to the bootie. The other Eſtradiots alreadie en-

engaged in fight, follow their example: then horſe and foote in whole troupes do the like. VVhereupon the Marquiſes forces being diſtracted and weakned, and no longer able to endure the furious impreſſion of the French, are forced to quit the battell, and repaſſe the riuer *Taro*, with exceeding loſſe; leauing the field to them which before were almoſt vanquiſhed.

APHORISME XXXI.

EVery [1] *action tendeth to his end: by which we iudge, whether it be vertuous or diſhoneſt; worthy or baſe. Wherefore of cauſes, the finall is the moſt noble: and as the efficient giues motion, and the formall giues eſſence to the matter; ſo the finall giues the true iudgement and appellation of all things.* [2] *His claime is therefore beſt to the title of victorie, and honour of the day, not that killeth moe enemies, or taketh moe priſoners, but that by the battell obtaineth his end, for which he fought.*

Ariſt.eth.l.1. 1 Πᾶσα τέχνη, καὶ πᾶσα μέθοδος, ὁμοίως δὲ πρᾶξις καὶ προαίρεσις, ἀγαθοῦ τινὸς ἐφίεσθαι δοκεῖ. *i. Ars omnis & omnis doctrina, itemq; actio & propoſitum, bonum aliquod appetere videtur.*

Ibid. *Finis dicitur, non omne quod extremum, ſed quod omnium eſt præſtantiſſimum.*

Ariſt.Metap. *Quod per ſe bonum eſt, ſuaq; vi & natura, id omne finis: & ita cauſa vt eius gratiâ & fiant & ſint cætera omnia.*

Por.in Guic. 2 *Chi acquiſta il fine, per il quale s'è proceduto alla battaglia, & al combattere il nemico, ſenza dubbio vince.*

Fab.ap.Liui lib.27. *Vici ego Hannibalem, dum vincere prohibui, vt à vobis, quorum vigent nunc vires, etiam vinci poſſet.*

The Italians chalenge the honour of the day in the battell of *Taro*, becauſe they held ſtill their lodging and carriages (for their retreit was but ouer the riuer, which they had firſt paſſed to charge the enemie) and becauſe they had had the ſpoile of the French tents, euen to the kings owne pauillion. The French on the other ſide claime the victorie to be theirs, becauſe the enemy loſt many moe in the battell then they: as alſo they were forced

forced to quit the place of the fight, and to retire ouer *Taro:* but principally, becauſe they had obtained the end for which they fought; namely, a free paſſage into their countrey, which they had now made, maugre the confederates, whoſe forces were there onely to impeach and ſtoppe them. This in the generall opinion was the ſtronger plea: and therefore the glorie of that daies encounter, is due to the French.

APHORISME XXXII.

IN[1] *the countrey Carrinenſis (of Spaine) there is a riuer, that ſhewes all the fiſh in it to be like gold; but take them into thy hand, and they appeare in their naturall kinde and colour.*[2] *Such are faire promiſes in his mouth that would obtaine his purpoſe: bring them to the touch, and thou ſhalt finde, All is not golde that gliſtereth.*[3] *He therefore that will engage himſelfe into a great action, vpon promiſe of great aſſiſtance, if he be not as ſure of his friends abilitie in power, as readineſſe in will, he reckons without his hoſt, and ſits downe with the loſſe.*

1 *In Carrinēnſi Hiſpaniæ agro, fons eſt, aurei coloris omnes oſtendens piſces: nihil extra illam aquam cæteris differentes.* Plin.nat.hiſt. lib.2.ca.103.

2 *Multa fidem promiſſa leuant, vbi plenius æquo*
Laudat venales qui vult extrudere merces. Hor.ep.2.

Verba promittentium Cupreſsis ſimilia, quæ ſublimes cum ſint & pulchræ, fructum non habent. Plut.Apop.

Priuſquam promittas delibera, & cùm promiſeris facias, vt ne quis merito tuo te oderit. Stob.de mor

Theagines κανὸς, i. ſumus cognominatus: quòd magnificè polliceretur, cum eſſet pauper. Polyanth.

3 *Tale nihil timeo, ſed nec Medea timebat,*
Fallitur augurio ſpes bona ſæpe ſuo. Ouid.epiſt.

Heu patior telis vulnera facta meis. Ouid.ep.

The Cardinall of *S. Peter* in *Vincola*, and *Fregoſo*, with the troupes of *Vitelli*, and other land-forces, beſides a nauie at ſea, attempt vpon the coaſt of *Genoa:* they take two Port townes,

Spezie and *Rappallo*: they expect when thoſe of their faction in *Genoa*, ſhould ariſe in armes, raiſe ſome tumult, and further this buſineſſe. They finde nothing leſſe. The citie ſends out ſeuen hundred foote to the reſcue of their people, and recouerie of their townes: they ſodainly ſet vpon *Rappallo*, and carry it: moreouer, a fleet of Gallies, one Carrack, and two Biſcay ſhippes, with ſome ſmaller veſſels, ſet vpon the French nauie, and the exiles, in the gulfe of *Rappallo*, fire all their ſhipping, kill many of the enemie, take the Generall priſoner, and obtaine a bloudy and famous victory. This ſucceſſe had the French, relying vpon the promiſes of the Genoweſe exiles.

APHORISME XXXIII.

THat which paines vs much to endure, glads vs much to enioy, and to remember. For, there is nothing glorious or ſweet in the fruition, that is not difficult and painfull in the acquiſition: Nor can we taſte the kernell of pleaſure, vnleſſe we cracke the hard ſhell of danger.[2] *Such are the craggie and vntroden paths to vertue and honour: where, though the firſt entrance be hard, and many times deſaſtrous, yet ouercome by true reſolution and perſeuerance, it after turnes to a mans greater glorie.*

Cic.ep.l.5. Senec. Virg.
1 *Habet præteriti doloris ſecura recordatio delectationem.*
Quod fuit durum pati, meminiſſe dulce.
Olim hæc meminiſſe iuuabit.
O paſsi graniora, dabit Deus his quoque finem.

Adag. græc. Plaut. Sen.Her.fur. Ouid.Met.7. Ouid.art.2. Virg.opuſc. Hor.1.Sat.9 Taſſo.can.1
2 Χάλεπα τὰ καλά. *i. Difficilia quæ pulchra.*
Qui è nuce nucleos eſſe vult, frangit nucem.
Non eſt ad Aſtra, mollis è terra via.
Flebile principium melior fortuna ſecuta eſt.
Tendit in ardua virtus.
Quiſquis enim duros caſus virtutis amore
Vicerit, ille ſibi laudemq; decuſq; parabit.
— Nil ſine magno
Vita labore dedit mortalibus.
Signor, non ſotto l'ombra, in piaggia molle

Tra

Tra fonti, e fior', tra nimfe, e tra Sirene,
Ma in cima al erto, e faticoſo colle,
De la vertù, ripoſto è il noſtro bene.
Il ne faut, pour vn rebout, ou deux, perdre le courage. Am.Plu.Dē.
Apres beaucoup des trauaux, l'homme verteueux gaigne le deſſus. Am.Plu.Diō
Οὐδέποτ' ἀθυμεῖν τὸν κακῶς πράττοντα δεῖ. *i. Nunquam oportet animum deſponde-re hominem infortunatum.* Apollodor.
Qui ſe habet, nihil perdidit. Adag.Poly.

Gonſaluo Ernandes d'Aghilar of *Corduba*, a Spaniſh Captaine, commands in chiefe ouer his countrey ſouldiers, in *Ferdinands* armie, at the battell of *Seminara* in *Calabria*, againſt the French led by *d'Aubigni*. The French gaine the day. The Arragoneſe are all ſlaine, or put to rout. *Ferdinand* himſelfe fleeth by ſhipping to *Palma*, and thence to *Meſſina* in *Sicilia*. *Gonſaluo* eſcapeth hardly, and taketh his flight by land to *Reggium*, croſſe the mountaines: yet in this very kingdome, he ſhortly after purchaſed himſelfe, and that worthily, in the opinion of all men (euen of his enemies) the title and ſir-name of *Gran Capitano*.

APHORISME XXXIIII.

EVery' action hath his warrantie, from the collection of circumſtances: and among theſe, that of time is of greateſt moment. For, not to aduenture when wee ſhould, is cowardiſe, not prudence: and to dare when we ſhould not, is raſhneſſe, not valour.² A wiſe man therefore muſt forme his counſels, and frame his actions, vpon the mould of neceſſarie circumſtances.

1 *Magna ſunt momenta temporum: & multum intereſt, idem illud vtrum ante, an poſt decernatur, ſuſcipiatur, agatur.* Cæſ.com.l.5
Temporis opportunitas, operis eſt optima magiſtra, cuiuſuis & incæpti artifex. Sopho.in El.
Tempus eſt, in quo occaſio: & occaſio, in qua tempus: Medela tempore, eſt etiam vbi occaſione contingit. Hip.in præc.
Temporibus medicina valet, data tempore proſunt,
Et data non apto tempore, vina nocent. Ouid.remed
Attraxit ſuperuacua, & in diſcrimen rerum omnium, peruentura bella: Dum flecti Sen.de Ben. l.6.

flecti non minùs existimat turpe, quàm vinci.

Senec.Med. 2 *Tempori aptari decet.*

Auſon.de oc *Tu quoque dum cogitas, dum percunctando moraris,*
Elapſum dices me tibi de manibus.

Tacit.hiſt.4. *Vlteriora mirari, præſentia ſequi.*

Ouid. *Conſilium nobis reſq; locusq; dabunt.*

Lip.an.l.3. *Conſilia noua pro nouis rebus, aut vbi priora improſpera.*

Ferdinand, with a nauie of foure ſcore ſhippes in all, Spaniſh and Sicilian, with *Ricaienſe Catelano* Admirall of the Spaniſh Armada, preſents himſelfe in good order of fight before *Naples*: he had ſcarce men enough to man his ſhippes; yet ſet he a good face on the matter, in hope of the Neapolitans reuolt, with whom he had ſecret intelligence. *Monpenſier* Gouernour of the citie, ſets a ſtrong Guard in euery place, and preuenteth or ſuppreſſeth all tumult. He is aduiſed by his Councell of warre, to man that ſhipping he had in the Port, and to ſet vpon the enemy, being ſo weakly prouided. He will not be aduiſed. *Ferdinand*, fruſtrate of his expectation, beares backe againe to ſea, for *Sicilia*. The conſpirators in the towne, feare their treaſon will be diſcouered, ſend out a ſmall boate to *Ferdinand*; importune his returne: he doth ſo; offereth to land his men at *Magdalena*, a mile from the citie of *Naples*. *Monpenſier* (as raſhly forward now, as he was fearfully backward before) will needs out of the citie, to impeach their landing. An act of more aduantage to the conſpirators, then they could haue hoped. He is no ſooner out, but the Neapolitans are all in armes, ſhut the gates vpon him: and make the place good for *Ferdinand*. The French thus engaged betweene the towne and the enemie, are forced (though with ſome difficultie) to recouer the Caſtle. And *Ferdinand* by this meanes regaineth *Naples*.

APHORISME XXXV.

WHere Reaſon ſits as ſoueraigne, and gouernes all other paſsions and perturbations of the minde, that mans actions are reigled by the ſquire of vertue, and confined within the limits of mediocritie. Now, becauſe in a multitude, theſe motions and affections, like ſo many mutinous ſouldiers, haue no ſuch captaine as Reaſon, to repaire vnto for direction: they are whirled with a voluble and violent variation from one extreme to another: and neither in obedience nor diſloyaltie, loue or diſdaine, keepe any ſetled ſtay.

Mutabile ſubitis vulgus, tam pronum in miſericordiam, quàm immodicum ſæuit. â fuerat. Tacit.an.17.

Multitudo præceps fertur, non quâ eundum eſt, ſed quâ itur. Seneca.

Nec quicquam facilius, quàm in quemlibet affectum mutare populum. Quintil.

Populus, effigies Agrippinæ & Neronis gerens, circumſiſtit Curiam: Il quale con tutte queſte dimoſtrazioni, non impedì, che iui à non lungo tempo, l'vno, & l'altera non capitaſſero male. Am.in Tac. l.5.

Quegli che non ſanno, & al creder ſono più pronti, & più d'altri ancora mal contenti, & vaghi di coſe nuoue. Am.in Tacit. l.1.

I fauori del popolo ſono coſa leggiera, & da non farui fondamento. Am.in Tac. l.5.

Il popolo non ha ne' ſuoi conſegli alcuna fermezza: ma come ama hor' vno così amarebbe ancora doppo poco vn' altro, ſe la fortuna ſi cambiaſſe. Id.Ibid.

Bellua multorum capitum. Horat.

Populus, nouarum rerum cupiens, pauiduſq;. Tac.an. l.16.

Hæc eſt natura multitudinis, aut ſeruit humiliter, aut ſuperbè dominatur: Libertatem, quæ media eſt, nec ſpernere modicè, nec habere ſciuit. Liui.l.23.

Vulgus ——eoſdem colit atque odit. Sen.Her.fur.

The citizens of *Naples* had diſloyally reuolted from their naturall Liege Lord and Soueraigne, yong *Ferdinand*, (a Prince that had neuer wronged them) to *Charles* the 8. a ſtranger, and one they had neuer ſeene. They had forced him to flee out of *Naples*; and before he could ſhift himſelfe out of the towne, they had rifled his goods, and forcibly taken all his horſes out of the ſtables, with many other outrages, full of all inſolencie and villanie. *Charles* the 8. had vſed them much better then they of the

houſe of *Arragon;* he had eaſed them of diuers grieuances and impoſitions: yet is he no ſooner out of the towne, but they ſhut the gates vpon him, and take in againe yong *Ferdinand:* and him whom they ſo ſhamefully vſed before, they now receiue with generall ſhouts and acclamations of great ioy. The women from the windowes, couer him with flowers as he paſſeth by, raine ſhowers of ſweet waters vpon his head, and runne to meete him in the ſtreets, offering to kiſſe his feet, and wipe the ſweate from his face. So hard it is for the popular ſort to keepe any meane.

APHORISME XXXVI.

Though [1] *Fortune be ſaid to haue a great ſtroke in all humane actions, and greateſt in thoſe of warre, yet can we not ſo transferre the fault vpon her, but that the greateſt blame will light on our ſelues. For her two onely aduocates, (blindneſſe and ignorance) which pleade her innocencie, are our chiefe accuſers, and proue vs guiltie of our owne deſtruction.* [2] *It is therefore the part of euery commander, to open the one eye of his prouidence vpon the danger; and fixe the other of his knowledge, vpon the remedie.*

Ouid.Triſt. 1 *Rara quidem eſt virtus, quam non fortuna gubernat.*

Cæſ.com.l.6 *Multum cum in omnibus rebus, tum in re militari, poteſt fortuna.*

Pro.Ital. *Aſſai ben balla, à chi fortuna ſuona.*

Cicero. *Quicquid eſt proſperè geſtum, id penè omne ducit ſuum.*

Liui. *Vt quiſque fortuna vtitur, ita præcellit, & exinde ſapere eum omnes dicimus.*

Iuuen.Sat.10 —— *Sed te*
Nos facimus Fortuna deam, cæloq; locamus.

Lip.pol.l.3. 2 *Qui quæ neceſſaria ſunt, non prouidet, non prorſus videt: Hæc non ſapere, eſt planè decipere.*

Senec.Med. *Fortuna fortes metuit, ignauos premit.*

Polyb.l.3. *Qui in aduerſum aliquem caſum inciderunt, ſi id forti ac magno animo tolerent, plerumque fortunam ſuam in melius vertunt.*

Monpenſier, Generall of the Kings forces, Gouernour of the kingdome, and Lieutenant of the citie of *Naples*; while he was

was peaceably poſſeſſed of the towne, had neither the iudgement to ſee, nor care to foreſee, what was neceſſary for the keeping thereof, although he could not but expect new attempts from the enemie. He had not onely not prouided *Caſtel-nuouo*, and *Caſtel-vouo*, of ſufficient ſtore of victuals and munition, againſt all future accidents of extremitie, but had alſo ſuffered what was there, in a reaſonable mediocritie, to be lauiſhly waſted and conſumed. The Arragoneſe is now againe Maſter of the towne: and *Monpenſier* with his troupes are driuen into thoſe two places of ſtrength (the one within the citie, the other within canon ſhot) a number farre too great for the ſmall prouiſion of victuals they found there. VVhich tooke from him all poſſible meanes of holding thoſe two ſtrong peeces, whereby he might very ſhortly and moſt aſſuredly haue reduced that citie to the French obedience.

APHORISME XXXVII.

IT [1] is vſuall, and allowable by the law of Armes, for a publick and profeſſed enemie to attempt that by ſtratageme, fraud, or ſuborned trecherie, which cannot be got by fine force, without long time, vttermoſt danger, and extreme charge: for this way the purchaſe is ſooner made, and at a leſſe rate. [2] But it is dangerous for a chiefe commander, to treate in ſuch a practiſe, and be of the partie, if he be to engage his perſon, and entruſt his life in the hands of the ſuborned traitor: leaſt, while he ſeeke to buy other mens liues for money, he ſell his owne for nought.

1 καὶ δὲ πᾶν ἔξεστι ἀμαυρῶσαι τὸν ἐχθρὸν. *i. Oportet quidlibet conantem, frangere aduerſarium.* Pin. iſt. od. 4

Cum iuſtum bellum ſuſcipitur, vt apertè pugnet quis, aut ex inſidijs, nihil ad iuſtitiam attinet. Auguſt.

Id venenum quod Serpentes ſine ſua pernicie continent, in alienam effundunt: At malitia maximam ſui partem bibit ipſa. Valer. Max.

Hom.odyſ.λ. Κτείνης ἢε δόλῳ, ἢ ἀμφαδὸν ὀξυ χαλκῷ. *i. Confice ſiue dolo, ſeu ſtricto comminus enſe. Cum Homerus ſæpè hoc dicat, nihil aliud præcipit quàm artibus & ſtratagematis aduerſus hoſtes vti: Sin hâc non ſuccedat, tum verò corporum vi ac robore periclitandum eſſe.*

Vult.in Poly

Lip.è Tacit. an.2. *Arma aperta palàm vitare poſſis: fraus & dolus occulta ſunt arma, eaq; ineuitabilia: quia non priùs ſe prodit, quàm perdit.*

Am.Plut. Phoc. *Qui a de l'argent, il trouue des traiſtres, pres à vendre, ou engager leur patrie.*

Polyæn.l.1. *Optimum in ipſa acie quicquam machinari: vt conſilio præueniente finem belli, victoria paretur.*

Amy.Plut. 2 *Qui adiouſte foy au dire d'vn meſchant, s'en repent, & s'en boit l'outrage puis apres.*

Lip.pol.l 5. *Metuendum magis, quàm cauendum malum.*

Arioſt.cant 36. de Peſc.

Ecco qui ne l'inſidie, che gli ha teſe,
Con vn tratto doppio, il rio Ethiopo,
Come ſcannato di Saetta cade,
Il meglior Caualier di queſta etade.

The Marquis of *Peſcara*, the greateſt commander vnder the Arragoneſe, had with his forces beſieged and aſſailed the Monaſtery *La-Croce*, a place neare *Naples*, and of great importance, for his further deſſeignes: it was ſtrongly fortified, and brauely defended by the French: *Peſcara* deſpaires to winne it by force: he deales with a Moore, who had ſometimes bene his ſlaue, and was now a ſouldier in the place, to betray it vnto him. The Moore aſſignes him an houre in the night, and prouides him a ladder to climbe vp the wall, that they two might further treate of the matter, and reſolue of the meanes: meane while he diſcouers the plot to the French. At the houre of aſſignation the Marquis cometh; climeth vp the ladder: is ſhot through the throate, and falleth ſlaine in the place.

APHORISME XXXVIII.

IT [1] *is more princely to en-rich, then be rich.* [2] *This rule in it ſelfe implieth a limit. For (being ſo) he may not impouerish himſelfe, to make others rich: leaſt he be vnable to performe that princely office, and want meanes to reward well-deſeruing in others. Wherefore a great beggar muſt haue a great ſayer-nay; and a great giuer, muſt not ſo glut his follower, as that he take from him all edge of meriting more, or expecting more good: leaſt he offer the ſacrifice of his old ſeruice vpon a new altar, and turne the point of his power, vpon him that gaue it.*

1 *Regium eſt ditare, non diteſcere.* Adag.

Extra fortunam eſt, quicquid donatur amicis,
Quas dederis ſolas ſemper habebis opes. Martial.7.

Præceps ille manu fluuios ſuperabat Iberos
Aurea dona vomens.—— Claud. pane. Prob.

Nil negat, & ſeſe vel non poſcentibus offert. Claud.pan.

Moleſtiùs fert liberalis, ſi quid cùm oportet, non erogauerit; quàm ſi erogauerit quod non oportet. Ariſt.eth.

2 *Diſſolutionem Imperij doces, ſi fructus, quibus Reſpub. ſuſtinetur, diminuantur.* Tacit.hiſt.l.3

Non ergo profusè effundendæ opes: Quæ pacis ornamenta ſunt, ſubſidia belli. Cic.pro leg. Man.

Falluntur quibus luxuria ſpecie liberalitatis imponit: Perdere multi ſciunt, donare neſciunt. Tacit.hiſt.l.1

Non priuatìm largiendum, quod auidiùs de Rep. ſumas. Tacit.hiſt.l.2

Ærarium ambitione exhauſtum, per ſcelera ſupplendum erit. Tacit.an.l.1.

Haud debet Princeps, grauitate ſumptuum, iuſtos reddituſ profligare. Tacit.an.16.

Nefas eſt, Diſpenſatorem publicum, in delectationes ſuas ſuorumve conuertere id, quod Prouinciales dediſſent. Alex.Seuer. apud Lamp.

Le Prince doit eſtre non ſeulement liberal, mais auſsi magnifique: pourueu que de magnifique, il ne deuienne prodigue: car de prodigue il deuiendra exacteur, & d' exacteur tyran. Bod.de rep. l.5.

Caue ne beneficium maius ſit facultate tua: ineſt enim tali liberalitate cupiditas rapiendi, vt ad largiendum ſuppetant copiæ. Senec.Ben.

Prouidendum eſt, vt ratio quæſtuum, & neceſsitas erogationum, inter ſe congruant. Tac.an.14.

Le Prince doit regarder, que le loyer ſoit preallable au don. Bod.rep.l.5.

The French king had enfeoffed *Fabritio* and *Proſpero Colonna*

with great Seigneuries and States in the kingdome of *Naples*: he had giuen them whole Prouinces, more then to any other of that Nobilitie: his affaires begin now to decline in that Realme, and his friends to fall from him; among which, theſe two are the firſt of all, who of all other had leaſt cauſe. They pretend for excuſe, want of pay: a ſlender pretence in them, that had had ſuch gifts and honours heaped vpon them. They alledge further, that *Virginio Orſini*, and the Count *Petigliano* (capitall enemies to their houſe) were in too much grace with the French: when as theſe men had not yet obtained at his hands ſo much as their libertie, which was due to them by the law of Armes, hauing their pardon and ſafe-conduct ſigned with the Kings owne hands, before they were taken priſoners. But indeed theſe were but pretended allegations of excuſe, for their vngratefull reuolt, from ſo magnificent a Prince. It was the great Eſtates conferred vpon them, beyond the merit of their ſeruice, or proportion of others (which ought to haue bin the bridle to reſtrain them from ſuch perfidious back-ſliding, and to haue kept them in all awfull and dutifull obedience) that were their onely motiues to quit his ſeruice. For now they hoped to make a new purchaſe, by following a new Maſter: or at leaſt, to ſaue ſo great a ſtake.

APHORISME XXXIX.

NO man is more bound to be true, then he that is truſted: nor any more carefully by vs to be tendered, then they who by our meanes, and for our cauſe, are brought in caſe not to helpe themſelues. [2] *It is therefore a ſhamefull thing in a Chiefe, to giue Hoſtages for keeping of articles capitulated: and after by wilfull breaking of them, to leaue the liues of thoſe pledges at diſcretion, and the enemies mercie.*

Cic. pro Roſ. 1 *Nemo ferè credit niſi ei quem fidelem putat. Perditiſsimi eſt igitur hominis, fallere eum, qui læſus non eſſet, niſi credidiſſet.*

In Rep. maximè conſeruanda ſunt iura belli. Cic.off.l.2.
—— Σχολίας κρίνωσι θέμιστας,
ἕκ δὲ δίκην ἐλάλωσι, θεῶν ὄπιν οὐκ ἀλέγοντες. i. Homer.Il.A.
—— *Deprauant publica iura,*
Iuſtitiamq́ fugant, Diuûm nil verba verentes.
2 —— *Rebus ſuccurrite læſis,* Ouid.Triſt.2
Et date naufragio littora tuta meo.
Is locus officio cum ceſſant proſpera, cumq́ Silius.l.11.
Dura ad opem fortuna vocat: Nam læta fouere
Haudquaquam magni eſt animi decus.
—— *Aduerſis non deeſſe decet.* Lucan.8.
Turpe erit in miſeris veteri tibi rebus amico Ouid.Pon.2.
Auxilium nulla parte tuliſſe tuum.
Quod te per ſuperos & conſcia numina veri,
Per, ſi qua eſt, quæ reſtat adhuc mortalibus vſquam, Virg.Æn.2.
Intemerata fides, oro, miſerere laborum
Tantorum, miſerere animi non digna ferentis.

Monpenſier, a man of ſmall deſeruing in martiall affaires, weake in his directions, cold in his reſolutions, and vnfortunate in his actions, in whom nothing was noble or great but his bloud, (which iſſued from the Maſter-veine of *France*) is now ſtreightly beſieged in *Caſtell-nuouo* at *Naples*. He compounds to yeeld the place (their liues and goods ſaued) if in thirtie daies he were not relieued. He giues *Iuo d'Allegri*, and three other Captaines of eminent note, for pledges of the performance. *Monſieur de Percy*, and the Prince of *Biſignano*, come to his ſuccours, with what forces they can make. They ouerthrow the Count of *Matalona*, at the lake of *Pizzolo*, neare *Eboli*. They march on, without reſiſtance, till they come neare *Naples*. Here, they finde all places ſtrongly guarded, and all paſſages ſtopt. In deſpaire therefore of relieuing their diſtreſſed friends in *Caſtel-nuouo*, they retire. *Monpenſier*, vpon no neceſſitie, but by perſwaſion of the Prince of *Salerno* onely, forſakes the Caſtel, embarques himſelfe by night with two thouſand fiue hundred of the garriſon, and leaues the reſt; with charge to hold ſtill the place, beyond the day aſſigned by the compoſition: and ſo abandons thoſe Noble men, his pledges, and leaues their liues at the diſcretion of *Ferdinand*.

APHO-

APHORISME XL.

[1] *Mans eie and his honour, are two tender parts: the one cannot abide the rough touch of the hand, nor the other endure the ſmart ierke of the tongue: As therefore by the owners, they are carefully preſerued, ſo by others that deale with them, they ſhould be tenderly vſed. Such pregnant wits as had rather loſe their friend, then their ieaſt, muſt learne the leſſon which is taught freſh ſouldiers, to take heed, while they leuell and diſcharge vpon others, they lie not ſo open that they be hit thẽſelues.* [2] *For as wittie ſpeeches loſe their reliſh, when they are ouer-ſeaſoned with the ſowre ſawce of reprehenſion: ſo, when they come from him, vpon whom they may be iuſtly retorted, by way of recrimination, they are moſt odious.*

Tac.an.l.8. 1 *Non fert ludibrium, inſolens contumeliæ animus.*

Tac.an.16. *Aſperæ facetiæ, vbi multum ex vero traxêre, acrem ſui memoriam relinquunt.*

Ammirat. *Con minor patienza ſi ſente il diſpregio, che il danno.*

Apop.è Poly 2 *Gorgias Sophiſta recitabat orationem, in Olympiacis ludis, de concordia: Hic homo (inquit Melanthus) de concordia totius Græciæ diſſerit, qui ſibi, vxori, & ancillæ, tribus duntaxat, vt concorditer viuant nondum perſuaſit.*

Plaut. *Qui alterum incuſat probri, ipſum ſe intueri oportet.*

Iuuc. Sat. 12 *Quis tulerit Gracchos, de ſeditione querentes?*

Idem. Sat. 2. *Loripedem rectus derideat: Æthiopem albus.*

Ibid. — *Meritò vitia vltima fictos*
Contemnunt Scauros, & caſtigata remordent.

Am. in Plut. Ant. *Gaudiſſerie ſied mal aux grands: qui prennent plaiſir de s'entrepicquer, & qui eſt le plus coulpable, ſouuent eſt le plus outrageux.*

Horat. Sat. *Cum tua peruideas oculis mala lippus inunctis,*
Cur in amicorum vitijs tam cernis acutùm
Quàm aut Aquila aut Serpens Epidaurius?

Iuuenal. *Quis cœlum terris non miſceat, & mare cœlo*
Si ſur diſpliceat Verri, homicida Miloni,
Clodius accuſet mœchos, Catilina Cethegum?

Betweene *Peter Medici* and the Duke of *Millan*, was no kinde correſpondencie: they entertained iealous conſtructions one of another: yet the Duke being now on his way, to come to the French

French king at *Serezzana*, *Medici* goes out well mounted and attended, in complement to meet the Duke, and bring him into the towne. He fortunes to go out one way, and the Duke to come in another. At his returne, Sir (quoth he) I went out purposely to meete you vpon the way, to haue offered you my seruice, and attended you into the towne, but it seemes you came not the roade way. Indeed Sir, replies the Duke, one of vs hath missed the right way, but out of question it was your selfe. Couertly, and bitterly taxing *Medici* of taking a wrong course, in not being formerly aduised by him, but in following the French partie, and so bringing great troubles vpon his owne citie, and whole family, and all *Italie* besides. A fault whereof no man was more guiltie then the Duke himselfe. In like manner *Alphonso* the father, writes from *Messina* in *Sicilia*, to his sonne *Ferdinand* at *Naples* (which he had newly conquered) that he might againe returne to that citie. Sir, answereth the sonne, I will first establish the State, settle the gouernment, fortifie the citie of *Naples*, and make all sure, least you should againe flee from thence, as earst ye did: whereas himselfe as well as the old man, had fearfully quit the towne, and fled away.

APHORISME XLI.

MEns[1] *manners change with their honours: and therefore popular States haue cut off aspirers to ouer-much greatnesse and popularitie, (though otherwise men of eminent vertue and worth) because it is scarce knowne to themselues (much lesse to the State) what maner of men they would proue, hauing gained their purpose.*[2] *So do mens fortunes often change with their honours: for as historie giues vs instances of diuers Princes, to whom successe and desaster, glorie and disgrace, haue bene alternatiue: so are they plentifull in examples of such as haue had a continuall current of good fortune, to a certaine period; and then a perpetuall ebbe,*

and course of the contrarie, all their life after.

Adag. 1 *Honores mutant mores.*

Arist.eth. *Magistratus virum indicat.*

Salust frag. *Malæ secundæq; res, opes non ingenium mutare debent.*

Tacit.hist.l.1 *Secundæ res acrioribus stimulis animum explorant: quia miseriæ tolerantur, fœlicitates corrumpuntur.*

Senec.Thiest *Nemo confidat nimium secundis,*
Nemo desperet meliora lapsus:
Miscet hæc illis, prohibetq; Clotho
Stare fortunam.

Sene.Thiest. 2 *Nulla sors longa est, Dolor & Voluptas*
Inuicem cedunt: breuior voluptas.

Plin.paneg. *Habet has vices conditio mortalium, vt aduersa ex secundis, ex aduersis secunda nascantur.*

Curt.l.8. *Quotidiè experimur quàm caduca fœlicitas sit.*

Cic.pro leg. Manil. *Sunt quidam hoc Astro, vt ijs ad amplitudinem & gloriam, & ad res magnas benè gerendas, diuinitùs adiuncta fortuna videatur: Alij quibus etiam venti tempestatesq; obsecundant.*

Terent. *Alij quibus dormientibus Dij omnia conficiunt.*

Liui.l.7. *In sinum ijs victoria de cælo deuolat.*

Erasm. *Reti vrbes capiunt.*

Eustath. *Sunt verò alij ἐν τετράδι γενεθέντες. i. Quarta luna nati, & infœlices.*

Pro. *Qui Domi habent equum Seianum.*

Ariost.cant. 45. *Si vede per gli Essempi, di che piene*
Sono l'antiche, e le moderne historie
Ch'il ben va dietro al mal, e'l mal al bene,
E fin son' l'vn dell' altro, e Biasimi e Glorie.

Alphonso of *Arragon*, king of *Naples*, during the raigne of his father old *Ferdinand*, and while himselfe was but Duke of *Calabria*, was renowmed through all *Europe* for his famous deeds of armes, and successfull issue in all his actions. But after he once came to the Crowne, there was no one enterprise wherein he prospered: his glorie was daily eclipsed with the thicke clouds of blacke infamie, for his crueltie, auarice, and oppression: and his felicitie hourely wained to the last change of extreme misfortune.

APHO-

APHORISME XLII.

VNlawfull[1] actions, proceeding from our free election, can no way be ſalued, nor pargetted ouer with any colour of excuſe: the wound may well be bound vp, but the ſcarre will alwaies remaine. For, if law were to be violated, it ſhould be for a kingdome at leaſt.[2] But neither the greatneſſe of the purchaſe, nor of the partie, can extenuate the qualitie of the fact; nor patronize either the offender, or iuſtifier of the offence, from iuſt reproofe.

1 Ἐν γὰρ τοῖς νόμοις ἐστὶν ἡ σωτηρία τῆς πολέως. *i. Nam in legibus ſeruandis, ſalus ciuitatis ſita eſt.* — Ariſt.rhet.l.3

Themiſtocles, poſtulanti à ſe Simonidi Poetæ, vt ſententiam quandam iniuſtam ferret, reſpondit: Neque tu Poeta bonus eſſes ſi præter numerum caneres, neque ego Princeps bonus ſi contra leges iudicarem. — Plut.apop.

Si ius violare fas eſt, regnandi causâ violandũ: verum enimverò οὐ τοὺς κρατοῦντας χρὴ κρατεῖν, ἃ μὴ χρεών. *i. Non fas potentes poſſe, fieri quod nefas.* — Eurip.

2 *Malè vim ſuam poteſtas alienis iniurijs experitur.* — Plin.paneg.

Quo plus poſſumus, eò moderatius imperio vti debemus. — Liui.l.34.

Quanto liceat magis, tanto libeat minùs. — Seneca.

Nulla quæſita ſcelere potentia, poteſt eſſe diuturna. — Curt.l.10.

Dicite Pontifices, in ſancto quid facit aurum? — Perſ.Sat.2.

Quid iuuat hoc templis noſtris immittere mores?

Ite nunc o mali homines, parate vobis honorem per vim, — Eurip.in Ino

Et contrahite diuitias vndecunque venantes,

Per fas ſimul atque nefas; deinde meſſem ipſarum infælicem metite.

Ferdinand is repoſſeſſed of *Naples* it ſelfe, and a great part of the kingdome. He endeauors to be re-aſſured of the whole. To the effecting hereof, and eſtabliſhment of this State, his Councell findes no meanes ſo good, nor knot ſo ſtrong, as a ſtrict alliance and parentade with *Spaine*. To which purpoſe he contracteth in marriage with *Ioan* (his Aunt) who was daughter to *Ferdinand* his grandfather, by *Ioan* the king of Spaines ſiſter. He marrieth her: and the Pope by his Bull of diſpenſation, ratifies the match. Thus, what neither the law of nations alloweth, nor much leſſe the Diuine law, which expreſly forbiddeth it, the

Prince without conſcience admitteth, and the Pope without ſhame permitteth.

APHORISME XLIII.

SCarres[1] *in a ſouldiers face, are the markes of honour; and wounds in his weake bodie, are ſtrong pleaders for reward.*[2] *Such therefore as ſhall loſe any limme in their countries ſeruice, and be diſabled for other emploiments, are by law and their right, to be maintained at the countries charges: for, Reward is as ſtrong a ſupporter of the State, as puniſhment. Wherefore they who actually performe what ſuch lawes iuſtly prouide, deſerue the ſword of a ſouldier to be drawne for them in their need, and to be inrolled in the regiſter of Fame for euer.*

Petrarch. 1 *Iuſto Cicatrix parta bello, honeſtat faciem.*
Idem. *Specioſum pro iuſtitia acceptum vulnus.*
E Platone. 2 *Socrates interrogatus quenam ciuitas ritè gubernari poſsit, reſpondit: Cum boni inuitantur præmijs, iniuſti dant pœnas.*
Rag. Stat. l. 9 *Di grandiſsimo momento ſarà, che il Soldato ſia ſicuro, che ſe bene egli nella guerra reſterà ſtroppiato & impotente, il Prencipe non l' abandonerà, anzi il prouederà d' honeſto trattenimento, & modo di viuere.*
Dion. Halyc. *Sic Tullus Hoſtilius, agrum magnum & vberem, promiſit diuidi viritim inter Romanos milites inopes.*
Liui. l. 4. *Eò impenditur labor ac periculum, vnde emolumentum atque honos ſperatur.*
Id. l. 4. *Nil non aggreſſuri ſunt homines, ſi magna conantibus magna præmia proponantur.*
Plin. Paneg. *Præmia bonorum malorumq; bonos malosq; faciunt.*
Iuuen. Sat. 10 *——Quis etiam virtutem amplectitur ipſam,*
Præmia ſi tollis? ——
Xenoph. de inſt. Prin. *Homo, quum ſit animalium omnium generoſiſsimum, non tam minis ac ſupplicijs cogi, quàm præmijs oportebit ad officium inuitari legibus.*

The State of *Venice*, preſently after the memorable battell of *Taro*, calls in conſideration the good ſeruice there done by thoſe ſouldiers of their owne dominion, and in their entertainment. They thinke of a meanes to reward them; and reſolue it thus: The Marquis of *Mantoa*, *Gonzaga*, they make Generall of all

all their forces, who before had but title of Gouernour. They increaſe the pay of thoſe that had borne themſelues brauely in that daies ſeruice, and meant ſtill to follow the warres. They giue competent penſions to thoſe that had bene maimed: they giue ſtipends out of the publicke Treaſurie, to their ſonnes that had bene ſlaine in the battell, and dowers to their daughters, for their better preferment. A memorable example for other States, and remarkable to the perpetuall honour of that Commonwealth.

APHORISME XLIIII.

THe [1] Ciuicke Garlands and Coronets, were giuen by the old Romanes, to thoſe Generals that had ſaued the liues of many Citizens: and theſe were held more noble, and of greater honour, then either the Murall and Vallare garlands, giuen to them that firſt entred the enemies towne or campe: or then the Nauall, for doing ſome braue exploit at ſea. For, they valewed the life of one of their owne, at ten of the enemie. [2] Wherefore a worthie Generall ſhould not hazard to get that by fine force, and aſſault, with manifeſt loſſe of his men; which by all militarie collections, he may be ſure to carrie otherwiſe.

1 *Quòd ſi Ciuicæ Coronæ honos, vno aliquo, ac vel humillimo ciue ſeruato, præclarus ſacerq́, habetur: quid tandem exiſtimari debet, vnius virtute ſeruatus vniuerſus exercitus?* Plin.nat.hiſt. l.22.c.4.

Ciuica Corona, inſigne clariſsimum fuit militum: Cui cedunt Murales, Vallares, Aureæ, cedunt & Roſtratæ. Plin.l.16 c.3

2 *Harei anzi voluto, ſeruare vn Cittadino, che amazzare molti nemici.* Scip.in Plut.

Malo vnum Zopyrum, quàm centum Babilonios capere. E Iuſtin.l.1.

Niuna vittoria è più vtile, più preclara, ò più prezioſa, che quella che s'acquiſta ſenza danno, & ſenza ſanguine de' ſuoi Soldati. Guic.l.15.

Pelopidas rogatus vt ſeipſum ſeruaret: Dux, inquit, hortandus eſt potius vt ſeruet Ciues. Apoptheg.

Alieno ſanguini tanquam ſuo parcit, & ſcit, homini non eſſe homine prodigè vtendum. Senec. ep.89

Rien ne doit eſtre plus raccommandée à vn ſage Gouerneur, que de pouruoir à Am.Plu.Cic

la ſauueté de ſes gens, & eſpargner leur ſang.

Taſſo cant. 9.

Come Paſtor quando fremendo intorno
Il vento, e i Tuoni, e balenando i Lampi
Vede oſcurar di mille Nubi il giorno,
Ritrahe le Greggie da gli aperti Campi:
Et ſollecito cerca alcun ſoggiorno
Oue l'ira del Ciel ſicuro ſcampi:
Et con grido indrizzando, e con la verga
Le mandre inanti, e à gl' vltimi s'atterga. Così il Generale, &c.

Arioſt. cant. 15.

Gl'è vero che la vittoria ſanguinoſa
Speſſo far ſuol' il Capitan men degno:
Ma quella eternamente è glorioſa,
Et de' diuini honori arriua al ſegno:
Quando ſeruando i ſuoi ſenza alcun danno,
Si fa che gl' inimici in rotta vanno.

At the famous ſiege of *Nouara*, in which place were aboue ſeuen thouſand choiſe ſouldiers for defendants, beſides able men of the towne, and many of the countrie fled thither for ſafetie from the furie of the enemie, all vnder the commaund of the Duke of *Orleans*. The confederate forces came before the towne, conſiſting of three thouſand men at armes, three thouſand light horſe, one thouſand Reiſtres, fiue thouſand Italian foot, and ten thouſand Lance-knights, commanded all by the Marquis *Gonzaga* for the Venetians, and by *Galeazzo San Seuerino* for the Duke of *Millan*. Yet would not theſe commanders of this royall armie, attempt to winne the place by aſſault, conſidering the maner of the fortification, the number and valour of them within the towne, and eſpecially becauſe the enemie armie not being yet on foote, could not poſſibly come to raiſe the ſiege in any conuenient time, and therefore the towne being full of people, and emptie of prouiſion, it muſt of neceſſitie in ſhort time ſurrender.

APHORISME XLV.

CVstome to do well, is like the Dyers ſcouring, it cleanſeth and purgeth the minde of vicious dregs, by Education: and then Reaſon and Exerciſe finding a ſubiect ſo well prepared, giueth it the tincture of vertue in graine. Such is the effect of martiall practiſe and diſcipline in the exerciſe of Armes: it not onely habituates and inures men to be good ſouldiers, but euen incorporates the vertue in them and their race. But morall vertue, for want of exerciſe, and through diſ-uſe, cometh to loſe her accuſtomed habit, and turneth to the former ſoile of ill manners and vice. So doth the vertue militarie.

Educatio & diſciplina mores facit, & id ſapit vnuſquiſque quod didicit: Itaque bona conſuetudo excutere debet quod mala inſtruxit: Hæc, benè docet loqui, benè facere. Cic. de mor.

Adeò à teneris aſſueſcere multum eſt. Virg. Geor. 2

Natura inclina à male, e viene à farſi
L'habito poi, difficile à mutarſi. Arioſt. cant. 36.

Adde quòd ingenium longa rubigine læſum
Torpet, & eſt multò quàm fuit ante minùs. Ouid. Triſt.

Neque verò poteſt quiſquam noſtrùm ſubitò fingi, neque cuiuſquam ſubitò vita mutari, aut natura repentè conuerti. Cicero.

Exercitus labore proficit, labore conſeneſcit. Veget.

Aſſuetus habitus migrat in naturam. Seneca.

Nam morem fecerat vſus. Ouid. Met. 2.

Exercitus dicitur, quòd melior fit exercitando. Varro.

Conſuetudine leuior labor fit. Liui. l. 25.

Pugiles cæſtibus contuſi, ne ingemiſcunt quidem. Cic. Tuſc. 2.

Poteſt bouem ferre, qui vitulum ſuſtulerit. Petron. Sat.

Quod malè fers, aſſueſce, feres: benè multa vetuſtas
Lenit.— Ouid. art. 2.

Solus & artifices qui facit, vſus adeſt. Ouid. art. 1.

Quo ſemel eſt imbuta recens ſeruabit odorem
Teſta diù.— Horat. ep. 1.

The ancient French was a valiant and warlike nation (as well teſtifies that warlike and famous ſouldier and hiſtorian, who held it one of his greateſt trophies, to haue conquered the Gaules:) many

many of their kings in ſucceeding ages, fearing the furie of ſo fierce a people, by experience of their many inſurrections and bloudie rebellions, tooke from them the vſe and exerciſe of armes, and forced them to attend onely to tillage and mechanicall trades; ſuffering none but the Nobilitie or Gentrie, to be militant vnder their enſignes. VVhereupon they quickly loſt their ancient reputation; and ſince that, haue bene held the worſt foote of *Europe*. The conſideration hereof, made the French king, not dare to venture the relieuing of *Nouara*, till he had leuied ſtrong forces of Swiſſe, to ioyne with his French Lances in that ſeruice.

APHORISME XLVI.

Contrarie [1] *cauſes, cannot but produce contrarie effects.* [2] *Sanctitie and integritie of life (with puritie of doctrine) gaue the firſt maieſtie and awfull reuerence to the Sea of Rome, and made her the moſt eminent ſeate of Eccleſiaſticall iuriſdiction and authoritie: which, ſince, by the diſſolute conuerſation of thoſe men, and corruption of religion in that Church, is verie much diminiſhed, and verie worthily. If they will call men to their former obedience, let them firſt re-call themſelues to their former puritie of doctrine, and integritie of life and good manners.*

Ariſt. interp. 1 *Contrariarum cauſarum, contrarij effectus: Et contraria ratio.*

Statil. 2 —— *Graue & immutabile ſanctis*
Pondus adeſt verbis: Et vocem facta ſequuntur.

Senec. ep. ad Neron. *Nemo poteſt perſonam fictam diù ferre: ficta in naturam ſuam citò recidunt: quibus autem veritas ſubeſt, quæcunque ex ſolido enaſcuntur, in maius meliuſq; procedunt.*

Curt. l. 4. *Nulla res multitudinem efficaciùs regit, quàm ſuperſtitio.*

Liui. l. 4. *Eò trahunt ij, quibus quæſtui ſunt, capti ſuperſtitione animi.*

Cic. fin. 2. *Superſtitione qui eſt imbutus, quietus eſſe nunquam poteſt.*

Plut. apop. *Foris Antipater albo vtitur pallio, intus verò totus eſt purpureus.*

Bod. rep. l. 2. *Combien que Benoiſt 3. & Iules 2. ayent excommunié nos Roys, ſi n'ont ils rien diminué, ains plus toſt accroiſt l' obeiſſance des ſuiets. Car, il ſe trouue que le Porteur*

teur de la Bulle de l'interdiction, fut constitué prisonnier, & la Bulle lacerée publiquement, par Arrest de la Cour.

Iean de Nauarre, se disant Conte Palatin, fit quelques Notaires, & legitima des Bastards, en vertu du pouuoir qu'il disoit auoir du Pape: Et fut condamné par Arrest du Parlement, comme coulpable de leze Maieste. Ibid.

The Pope, at the instance of the State of *Venice*, and Duke of *Millan*, sends his Sergeant with a Brieffe or Mandate to the French king: VVherein he peremptorily chargeth him to depart out of *Italie* with all his forces, within ten daies; and within certaine daies after, to call home all his souldiers out of the kingdome of *Naples*: otherwise, that vnder paine of the Churches Censure, he faile not to appeare personally at *Rome*, to answer the contempt. The King scorning his vaine message, and proud menace, returnes him this answer: That seeing the Pope would not stay to see him, as he passed by *Rome* to *Naples* (for indeed he had fearfully and shamefully runne away, and durst not abide his sight) he maruels much he should now be so desirous of his companie. But yet to shew his Holinesse, how dutifull a sonne he was, it should not be long ere he would come to him, though he made his way with the sword; and therefore that he would haue the patience to stay till he came. Much vnlike the effect which Pope *Adrians* message wrought in elder times, with *Desiderius* king of *Lombardie*, whom he disswaded from a warre, wherein he was much engaged, and well aduanced, causing him and all his troupes to retire home from *Terni* to *Pauia*. Neither is it maruell, when that awfull and fearfull reuerence is decayed, which grew in mens hearts by admiration of the Churches sanctitie and holinesse of life, if now there succeed not the like effects.

APHORISME XLVII.

NEceſsitie is neither ruled by Law, nor ouer-ruled by Power: her force is great, not onely in a paſsiue reſistance, againſt all hard impreſsions; but in an actiue impetuoſitie, and violent paſſage, through all reſpects, obſtacles, or dangers whatſoeuer: ſhe will find a way, or make it. And among all her triumphs ouer man, this is not the leaſt, ſhe will make him honeſt in ſpite of his teeth.

Laert.l.c.5 *Pittacus tantam neceſsitatis vim eſſe dicebat, vt nec Dij ipſi reluctari poſſint.*

Curt.l.7. *Neceſsitas ante rationem eſt: Inuenit viam, aut facit.*

Liui. *Durum telum neceſsitas.*

Curt.l 4. *Efficacior eſt omni arte, imminens neceſsitas.*

Plin.6.ep.29 *Nonnunquam neceſsitati, quæ pars rationis eſt, parendum.*

Phocyl.ſent. *Qui volens iniuſtè agit, malus eſt: Qui verò ex neceſsitate, non dico prorſus malum.*

E Curt.5. *Neceſsitas acuit ignauiam, in armis: acuit ingenium, in arte: Nam Neceſsitas tropum genuit.*

Laert.l.1.c.1. *Thales interrogatus quid eſſet in tota rerum natura robuſtiſsimum, reſpondit, Neceſsitas, ſuperat enim omnia.*

Adag. *Diomedea neceſsitas. De ijs dictum, qui coacti non ſponte aliquid faciunt.*

The French king had a deſire to keepe ſtill in his hands *Pietra-Santa* and *Serezzana:* they were fit baites for *Genoa*, to hooke her to his deuotion. As deſirous he was to hold *Piſa* and *Ligorne*: they were fit places to ſuccour and refreſh his ſhipping, that ſhould be ſent with ſupplies from *France* to *Naples*. The chiefe fauourites in Court are furtherers hereof, and oppoſers againſt the Florentine agents, who ſue with great inſtance to haue them ſurrendred. A new accident vnhappily falls out, which makes their ſuite more deſperate; it was this: The Florentines take in by compoſition, *Ponte-Secco*. The French ſouldiers in the place, capitulate to depart with their liues ſaued. The Guaſcons notwithſtanding, as they march out of the Port, are barbarouſly ſlaine, againſt all faith giuen, and law of armes. This incenſeth much

much the French campe and Court, especially those who did mediate for the Pisans: yet for all this, it was neither the Kings promises often made, nor his oath once solemnly taken, (but his extreame need of monie, to leuie the Swisse for the affaires of *Nouara*, and speedie relieuing of *Naples*,) which forced him to be as good as his word, to surrender vp all those places, and restore their right to the Florentines.

APHORISME XLVIII.

IT[1] sufficeth not to the strength of the armes, to haue flesh, bloud, and bones, vnlesse they haue also sinewes to stretch out, or pull in, for defence of the bodie.[2] *So an armie consisting of many valiant men, and furnished with all other warlick habillements, is but lame, and vse-lesse, and vnable to moue it selfe, without monie, the sinewes of warre.*

1 Νεῦρα τῆς ἡγεμονείας, τὰ χρήματα. *Pecunia nervus belli.* Dion.

La prima cosa è pensar del pane, & poi delle Galee. Amir.Plut.

Quemadmodum homines sine neruis ambulare nequeunt, ita nec bellum vsquam progredi, sine Pecunia. Lip.pol.l.5.

2 Δυὸ δ' εἶναι τὰ τὰς δυνατείας παρασκευάζοντα, καὶ φυλατόντα, καὶ ἐπαύξοντα, στρατιώτας, καὶ χρήματα. *i. Miles & pecunia, præparant, defendunt, & augent potentiam.* Dion.l.4.

Ἔστιν ὁ πόλεμος, οὐκ ὅπλων τὸ πλέον, ἀλλὰ δαπάνης· δι' ἣν τὰ ὅπλα ὠφελεῖ· *i. Bellum est non in armis maxime, sed in impensis & sumptibus, per quos efficacia arma, & vtilia fiunt.* Thucyd.l.2.

Cratetis celebratur Ephemeris, ad hunc habens modum: Ponito coquo minas decem, medico drachmam: adulatori talenta decem, consiliario fumum: scorto talentum, philosopho triobolum. Notans hominum stultitiam, qui in res honestas & cum primis necessarias minimum sumerent impendij, ad turpia prodigi. Laert.l.6.

Antequam inchoetur bellum, de copijs, expensisq́, sollicitius debet esse tractatus. Veget.l.3.

Quisquis habet nummos secura nauiget aura. Petron.Sat.

The citie of *Nouara* is in great distresse, for want of victuals: the French king is not able to raise forces to relieue it, for want of monie. He had sent the Bailiffe of *Dijon* into Swisserland for

aide, but none would come to emptie coffers. At this pinch, he makes a finall concluſion with the Florentines, for the reſtitution of *Piſa*, and other cautionarie townes, and receiues great ſummes of monie in conſideration. Vpon the firſt bruite hereof, the Swiſſe that before would not ſtirre one foote, come downe now in groſſe troupes: and whereas he had ſent but for ten thouſand, there now come aboue twentie: it was impoſſible to ſtay them, when they heard the kings Checquer was full.

APHORISME XLIX.

IN[1] *a fearfull tempeſt at ſea, where men are in danger of ſhip-wracke, they throw part of their goods ouer boord, leaſt the reſt, the ſhip, themſelues, and all ſhould periſh.* [2] *So muſt a wiſe Prince, in the tempeſtuous ſtormes of warre: he muſt adapt his conſultations and actions to the neceſſitie of the time: and not expoſe the Maine to a manifeſt loſſe, by ſeeking to ſaue the Bye. Wiſedome is therefore more neceſſarie in a Chiefe, then valour.*

Lamp. Alex.

1 *Gubernator, vbi naufragium timet, iacturâ, quicquid ſanari poteſt, redimit.*

Iul. Sil.6.

Melius dimidium tranquillè obtinere, quàm de toto dimicantes, perire.

Incerti fallax fiducia Martis.

Liui.l.30.

Simul parta ac ſperata victoria, vnius horæ fortuna euertere poteſt.

Liui.l.30.

Nuſquam minùs quàm in bello, euentus reſpondent.

Parut.l.1. diſc.4.

2 *I prudenti Capitani (come ſogliono i ſauij Medici, ne' corpi deboli, vſare molte volte per ridurgli alla Sanità, piu toſto la quiete, & la buona regola d'ogni diſordine, che la Medicina) deuono eſsi ancora andar più toſto cercando, temporeggiando, & procedendo ſedatamente, & con ogni lor vantaggio: che con vſar la forza dell' armi, & arriſchiarſi alla battaglia, liberare lo Stato dalli imminenti maggiori pericoli.*

Guicc.l.14.

Non è meno vffizio del valoroſo Capitano, fare operazione di Sauio, che d'Animoſo.

Cicero.

Parua ſunt foris arma, niſi ſit conſilium domi.

Polyæn.l.1.

Ἀνδρεία μὲν γὰρ ὅς τις χρησάμενος πολεμίων μαχομένων ἐκράτησεν· εὐβυλία δὲ ἀμαχεὶ τέχνῃ καὶ δόλῳ περιγένεται. *i. Fortitudo eſt, ſi quis robore hoſtes pugnantes deuincit: conſilium verò extra prælium arte atque dolo victoriam adipiſci.*

It

It is debated by the French kings Councell of warre in his owne preſence, whether (now the Swiſſe are come downe) *Nouara* ſhould be yeelded to the Duke of *Millan*, vpon ſuch conditions as he offered: or that they ſhould engage all their power and meanes, to raiſe the ſiege, and relieue the place. The Lord of *Tramoüille* is for the negatiue: his reaſons theſe. It is inglorious for ſo great a King, being once embarqued in the action, to quit the place to the enemie: for, he ſhould rather at his coming to *Aſti*, not haue medled with it at all, as not belonging to himſelfe, but to the Duke of *Orleans*, who likewiſe had iuſt title to the whole Duchie: but now as the caſe ſtands, the loſſe of *Nouara*, can be no other in effect but the loſſe of *Naples*, and the deſtruction or ruine of all his Nobilitie and Captaines left in that kingdome, who muſt neceſſarily deſpaire of all ſuccour, ſeeing ſo great an armie, as he hath here, giue way to the Italians. The ſucceſſe of warre depends vpon his reputation that makes it: if this be once loſt, there conſequently followes the fainting of ſouldiers, failing of friends, reuolting of ſubiects, decreaſing of reuenues, encouragement of enemies, and doubling of all other difficulties: his new purchaſed glorie in *Naples*, will be buried in the infamous graue of *Nouara*. This peace betweene his Maieſtie and the Duke of *Millan*, fits not with his preſent affaires: it is not made *Bona fide*, on the Dukes part: he is a Prince notoriouſly taxed of infidelitie and fraud: a temporizer, and one that neuer keepes touch, but to ſerue his owne turne: the King ſhall no ſooner be gone, but the articles ſhall be broken. To raiſe the ſiege, and relieue the towne, is a matter of no great difficultie, to him that conſiders the greatneſſe and valour of the French armie: the helpes it hath of the countrie adioyning, and the enemie againſt whom it is to fight, being the ſame it had before beaten, and put to flight at *Taro*, when the French had but three thouſand Swiſſe in his armie, whereof were now aboue twentie thouſand. The benefit will be great, for all *Italie* will be the priſe to him and his ſouldiers: there remaining no moe forces to make head againſt him. Thus argues *Tramoüille*; but the

Prince of *Orenge* aduiſeth the contrarie: and proues, that the preſent eſtate of the Kings affaires permits no time to ioyne force with wiſedome: for, *Nouara* muſt be preſently ſuccoured, or preſently yeelded, and loſt. To attempt the preſent reliefe by force, were againſt all Principles of warre, and enough to loſe the whole armie: the enemie was ſo ſtrongly encamped, both by induſtrie of art, and nature of the ſituation. To diuert him, by aſſailing any other place of importance, required maturitie of counſaile, and length of time. Long ſtay were dangerous for the armie, winter growing on, and the Swiſſe being there in ſuch numbers: a people apt to mutine vpon euery occaſion, but eſpecially for want of pay, for whoſe long entertainment the king had no meanes. It is very true, no man can denie it, that the keeping of this place, would be more for the kings honour, and aſſurance of his affaires in *Naples*: but it is not the part of a wiſe Commander, to endanger the whole, for a part of ſuch difficultie. Beſides, this Impreſe belongs not to the King, but indirectly, conſidering he layes no claime to the Duchie of *Millan*: neither was it the cauſe of the Kings coming from *Naples*, to make warre in *Piemont*. And therefore it neither engaged his honour, nor profit, to endanger all his fortunes for the keeping of that which was none of his owne. It is likely enough the Duke will breake the articles of the accord, ſo is it as likely that ſome of the confederates will fall from him. A collegation of many, is euer of this nature, there ſtill happen occaſions to looſen the knot, which being once vntied, is eaſily broken. This reſolution is therefore to be taken, not that it is in itſelfe either profitable or honourable, but that it is a rule among wiſe Captaines, To allow that for the beſt, which is of neceſſitie, or which hath leaſt difficultie or danger: to which we ought euer adapt all the deliberations and reſolutions of our actions. *Orenge* preuaileth in the cauſe: the towne is yeelded; and the peace concluded between *France* and *Millan*.

APHO-

APHORISME L.

IT [1] *is a Preſcription in the Phyſicall rules of diet, not to receiue more meate into the ſtomack, then the naturall heate may well digeſt, and the expulſiue facultie eaſily diſcharge: leaſt it ouercome nature, and ouerthrow the ſtate of the bodie: So is it a Militarie precept, to entertaine no moe mercenaries into thine armie, then thou maiſt well order and vſe, or diſcharge at thy pleaſure.* [2] *For, as they haue not ſo noble ends as other ſouldiers (thy naturall ſubiects,) ſo are they apt vpon euery baſe cauſe, and fit occaſion, to violate all lawes of armes and diſcipline.*

1 *Id cauendum Ducibus, exemplaq́, pro documentis habenda, ne ita exteris credant auxilijs, vt non plus ſui roboris, ſuarumq́, propriè virium, in caſtris habeant.* Tacit. an. 6.

Galba ſoleua dire, che elleggeua, non comperaua ſoldati. Am. Tacit. an. 17.

2 *Non iuberi, non regi, cunctaq́, ex libidine agere volunt.* Tac. de mor.

Contra morem obſequy, contra fas diſcipline, interdum in vim meditantur. Tacit. an. 1.

Omnia tanquam externa, aut vrbes hoſtium, vrere, vaſtare, rapere ſolent. Tacit. hiſt. 2.

Maiori ex aduerſo mercede, ius faſq́, exuunt. Tacit. hiſt. 2.

Pecuniola proponitur, tympanum ſtrepit: & ecce coeunt aliquot ignoti inter ſe, ignorantesq́. Lip. & Liu. 21

Purgamenta vrbium ſuarum. Curt. l. 9.

Quorum lingua vana, manus rapaciſsimæ, gula immenſa, pedes fugaces, quæ honeſtè nominari non poſſunt inhoneſtiſsima. Lip. & Plaut. Sal. & Cic.

La Mercenaria mal fidà Canaglia
Prezzar gl' antichi Imperatori poco:
Da lor Nation più toſto venti
Volean, che cento di diuerſe Genti. Arioſt. agg. 2

The Swiſſe that neuer fighteth but for wages, demands three whole moneths pay of the King, vpon his preparing to returne into *France*. They had not ſerued him at all in any action of warre; they were but lately come to the campe, and in greater numbers then he had demanded: he hath now no further vſe of them: beſides, thoſe Officers the King ſent to raiſe them, had made no ſuch couenant with them: yet becauſe (forſooth)

Lewes

Lewes 11. the laſt king, had entertained them vpon ſuch conditions, they will not be otherwiſe ſatisfied. They reſolue to ſeize on the Kings perſon, and ſome other of his Councell and principall Lords, till they were paid. The King fearing the worſt, hasteth himſelf out of their fingers. They lay hold vpon the Bailiffe of *Dijon*, and ſome other officers, and will not deliuer them, till they had aſſurance and pledges from his Maieſtie, of what they demanded.

APHO-

APHORISMES, CIVIL AND MILITARIE.

LIB. III.

APHORISME I.

AS we obſerue in nature, that keene and razor-wits, which will take a haire off the hand, do turne edge at a more ſolide ſubſtance; and are apter for a fine conceit, then a ſound deliberation: whereas the tough and dull Axe, is able to encounter the hard and ſturdie Oake, and to ouer-maſter him: So experience teacheth vs, that hot and firie ſpirits, are apter to get a purchaſe, then to keepe it, and to winne the garland, then to weare it. 2 *Whereas the benefit of treaſure, is not in the acquiſition, but in the fruition: for goods are not good, but by the vſe.* 3 *He therefore that hath the fortune to get the victorie, but not the iudgement to make vſe thereof, hath both the one and the other, for his greater fall.*

1 *Omnia inconſulti impetus cæpta, initijs valida, ſpacio langueſcunt.* Tacit. hiſt. 3.
Sed caret euentu nimius furor, improba nunquam Claud. bell. Get.
Spes lætata diù.——
Fortuna vitrea eſt, cum ſplendet frangitur. Prob.
2 *Bona perinde ſunt vt eius animus, qui ea poſsidet: Ei qui benè vtitur, bona: qui non vtitur, mala.* Terent.
Diuitem eſſe in vtendo magis, quàm in poſsidendo conſiſtit. Ariſt. rhet. 1.
3 *Vincere ſcis Hannibal, vti victoria neſcis.* Prob. de Han
Vſus fructuſq́, victoriæ optimus, pax eſt: neque ad aliam quàm ad pacis finem iuſta bella ſuſcipiuntur. Petrar. dial. 103.
Cum victoria vti potuit, frui maluit. Varr. de Han
Victoriam, nec victoris animo, nec magni Ducis more, meticns. Petrarc. dial.
Victoria alata eſt, vide ne euolet. Idem.

Plut.in Cæſ. *Hodiè penes hoſtes erat victoria: at non habebant Ducem, qui ſciat victoria vti.*

Liui.l.21. *Fermè fit vt res ſecundæ negligentiam creent.*

Senec.Troa. *Noſcere hoc primùm decet*
Quid facere victor debeat, victus pati.

Petrar.dial. 103. *Poſtquam vicisti, caue ne te vincat ira, ſuperbia, crudelitas, furor, rabies: Hi ſunt enim victoriæ comites, & victorum hoſtes, à quibus ſæpe clariſsimi victores turpiſsimè victi ſunt.*

Idem. *Victor prælio ſæpe victus eſt bello.*

Charles the 8. came into *Italie* like thunder and lightning; he is gone out like ſmoake. He knew how to vanquiſh, but not how to vſe the victorie. Fortune gaue him the kingdome of *Naples*, and his owne error made a way to loſe it. He had left an inſufficient Deputie to gouerne it: weake forces to defend it: ſmall meanes to hold it: and no money to defray them. The nauie which he ſent for their ſuccours, and money, with ſupplies of men from *Florence*, through negligence and delay came to no purpoſe. Himſelfe makes a diſhonorable retreit ouer the mountaines, not out of any feare or want of forces, but out of imprudence, diſorder, and a vaine deſire to be in his owne countrey, and enioy her pleaſures. Yet more like one vanquiſhed then a victor, and ſo much the more inglorious, by how much his fortune rather then his ſword, had raiſed him to ſo high a pitch of glorie and conqueſt.

APHORISME II.

IN a Mediocrity of Fortune, men haue meaſured thoughts, and teddered within the limites of their meane eſtate: But hard it is to fore-iudge of thoſe men, how they will prooue in their greater proſperity: So dangerous a bolus *this is to be ſwallowed, wel digeſted, and turned to good humour: For it filleth euery veine in the heart, with a windineſſe of vain-glorie, and thirſtineſſe after more: ouerflowing the boundes of Reaſon, Equitie and Iuſtice.*

Difficile

Difficile eſt, cum præſtare cæteris concupieueris, ſeruare æquabilitatem. Cic. off. 2.

Μέγαν ὄλβον καλαπέψαι οὐ δύναιται. *Magnam fælicitatem concoquere non poſſunt.* Pin. oly. od. 1

Ἐν τῷ πολεμῷ εὐτυχίᾳ πλανάζοντες. *In bello, ob ſecundas res, exultantes.* Thucyd.

Diù ſordidi, repentè diuites, mutationem fortunæ male tegunt, accenſis egeſtate cupidinibus, immoderati. Tacit. hiſt. l. 1

Fragilitatis humanæ, nimia in proſperis rebus obliuio eſt. Curt. l. 9.

Proſpera animos efferunt. Sen. Agam.

Res ſecundæ valent commutare naturam, & rarò quiſquam erga ſua bona cautus eſt. Curt. l. 10.

Neſcia mens hominum fati ſortiſque futuræ,
Et ſeruare modum rebus plerumque ſecundis. Virg. Æn. 10.

Luxuriant animi rebus plerumque ſecundis,
Nec facile eſt æquâ commoda mente pati. Ouid. art. 2.

—— Regi frænis nequit
Et ira, & ardens hoſtis, & victoria,
Gladiuſq; fælix. —— Sen. Troad.

Arrogans is eſt, qui ſibi res magnas & præclaras ſumit & vendicat cum non inſunt, vel maiora quàm quæ inſunt. Ariſt. ari. l. 4.

Profectò hoc ſic eſt, & puto omnibus nobis
Vt res dant ſeſe, magni atque humiles ſumus. Terent.

All *Italie* reſounded the praiſe of the Venetian Senate, and Duke of *Millan*, eſteeming them worthie of erected Trophies to their perpetuall fame and honour: that with ſo wiſe deliberation, and noble reſolution, had made head againſt the victorious army of the French; fought with him in plaine field, and reſtored the Italian armes to their ancient reputation: freeing that noble Country, from the ſword and ſeruitude of *Tramontanes* and ſtrangers. And worthilie had this honour bene theirs, had they not preſently after tainted that vertue, and eclipſed that glorie, with the greedie deſire of more then was their owne, by entring into the *Piſan* buſineſſe: to their owne proper loſſe and infamy, and to the generall ſtirring of new garboiles and troubles, through all the States of *Italie*.

APHORISME III.

Cineas [1] *the Embaſſadour, after the firſt dayes audience, could remember euery Senators name in Rome. And Cyrus was able to call euery poore Souldier by his name, that was in the campe. Such perfect memories as theſe, men naturally haue of euery little wrong done vnto them. For benefites they write in duſt, wronges in marble: as well thoſe they offer, as thoſe they ſuffer.* [2] *Therefore the guilt of hauing done a wrong, hath ſuch deepe impreſsion in the iniurer, as he neuer after affieth in the party iniured, nor treatteth with him in any ſinceritie.*

Por. in Guic. Seneca.

1 *Chi offende, ſcriue in Poluere; & chi è offeſo, in Marmo,*
Quiſquis de accipiendo cogitat, oblitus accepti eſt, nec vllum habet maius malum cupiditas, quàm quòd ingrata eſt.

Teren. Phor.
Ad hoc res redijt, ſi quis quid reddit, magna habenda eſt gratia.

Laert. l. 5.
Quid citò ſeneſcit? quid tardè? Gratia, & iniuria.

Saluſt.
Nulli mortalium iniuriæ ſuæ paruæ videntur.

Stobæ.
Apud homines beneficium citò ſeneſcit.

Plaut.
Si quid benefeceris, leuior plumâ eſt gratia,
Si quid peccatum eſt, plumbeas iras gerunt.

Tacit. hiſt. 4
2 *Procliuius eſt iniuriæ, quàm beneficio vicem exoluere.*

Tacit. Agric.
Proprium eſt humani ingenij, odiſſe quem læſeris.

Eraſ. Apop.
Iniuriæ memoria tenaciſsima eſt, & beneficij breuiſsima.

Cic. poſt red
Vlciſcendæ iniuriæ facilior ratio eſt, quàm beneficij remunerandi.

Por. in Guic
La natura di chi offende, è di ricordarſi d'hauer offeſo.

Matters betweene the Duke of *Millan* and *Charles* the 8. are come to a finall compoſition. The Articles are thus concluded at *Vercelly*: That there ſhould be a perpetuall Peace and Amity betweene them. That *Nouara* ſhould be yeelded to the Duke: That *Spezie*, and other places vpon the eaſt coaſt of *Genoa*, ſhould be reciprocally ſurrendred: That it ſhould be lawfull for the King, to arme as many ſhippes as he would in the port of *Genoa*, for all vſes and purpoſes, ſaue onely in fauour of the enemies of that State: That for ſecurity hereof the Genoweſes ſhould giue ſufficient pledge and hoſtages. That the Duke

ſhould

ſhould reſtore the ſhippes taken at *Rappallo*, and the twelue gallies arreſted and ſeized on in *Genoa*. That the yeare following, the Duke ſhould furniſh him with three ſhippes more, for the ſeruice of *Naples*: That he ſhould grant free paſſage through his State, to all ſuch French troopes, as ſhould be ſent into *Italie*, ſo they came not aboue two hundred lances at once. That in caſe the King returned in perſon, to the impreſe of *Naples*, the Duke ſhould follow him, with a certaine proportion of forces. That the Venetians ſhould haue three monethes reſpite to enter into the League: If they did, then to call home their nauy from the kingdome of *Naples*, and to giue no aſſiſtance to *Ferdinand*: If not, that the Duke ſhould aide him to warre vpon that State, and what was wonne from them, ſhould belong to the Duke. That he ſhould paie the Duke of *Orleans*, by March next following, the ſumme of fiftie thouſand Duckats, for his expence vpon *Nouara*. That he ſhoud quitte the King of eightie thouſand of thoſe Duckats, which he borrowed of him at his firſt coming into *Italie*. That he ſhould releaſe *Triultio* from the proclamation of baniſhment and proſcription, which was out againſt him. That he ſhould ſet at libertie the baſtard of *Burbon*, taken priſoner at the battaile of *Taro*: and Monſieur *Miolanes* taken at *Rappallo*. That he ſhould call home *Fracaſſa* from *Piſa*, with all his, and the Genoweſe forces: and not aide that citie againſt the Florentines. That he ſhould leaue the caſtle of *Genoa*, *in Depoſito*, with the Duke of *Ferrara*, as an indifferét man betweene them, to be conſigned to the King vpon the failing in any of theſe prémiſſes, on the Dukes part. Meane while to put in pledges for the deliuerie of the place. To all theſe articles the Duke of *Millan* condeſcended, and ſware: not in any ſinceritie, for he ſtill miſdoubted the King, whom he had ſo many wayes offended, and indeed meant himſelfe to be the firſt that ſhould breake: but with a deſire to recouer *Nouara*, and remoue the warre from his owne State. Thoſe articles therefore which were apparantly in his owne power, which could permit no delaie, and would admit no euaſion, he preſently performed. He put in pledges for the caſtle of *Genoa*:

he ſet free the priſoners: he reſtored the ſhipping taken at *Rappallo*: he called home *Fracaſſa*: he conſigned the caſtle into the handes of the Duke of *Ferrara*. The reſt, which required no preſent performance, and for which he could pretend any falſe colour, he vtterly broke.

APHORISME IIII.

THe[1] beautie of Truth is in her nakedneſſe, and therefore ſhe ſeekes no corners, to hide it: But falſhood is vglie, if ſtripped bare, and therefore like ill complexions, ſhe borroweth colours to couer her deformitie. Men iuſtly taxed with this foule aſperſion, are not to be treated with, much leſſe truſted.[2] But he which firſt and laſt keepes touch with his Allies, is a mirrour of men, and a patterne of Princes.

Adag. Vines de anima.

1 *Nuda eſt veritas, nec quærit angulos.*

Nullæ duæ res inter ſe tam amicæ & concordes ſunt, quàm virtus & veritas: Germanæ ſunt à Deo genitæ, & humanis mentibus ſicut vtiliſſimæ, ita etiam integris iucundiſſimæ.

Sil. ad Fidē. lib. 2.

Ante Iouem genera ta, decus Diuûmq́, hominumq́,
Qua ſine non tellus pacem, non æquora nôrunt:
Iuſtitiæ conſors, tacitúmque in pectore numen.

Cic. off. 2.

Satis ijs ſi quamcunque rimam effugio reperiant: ex qua liberatos ſe eſſe iureiurando interpretantur.

Petron. Sat.

Homines in duas partes ſunt diuiſi: aut captantur, aut captant.

Tacit. hiſt. 4.

Aperta odia armáque depelluntur, fraus & dolus obſcura, eoq́, ineuitabilia.

Plin. l. 1. c. 7.

Alij in ipſo Capitolio fallunt, ac fulminantem peierant Iouem.

Ouid. ep. 18.

2 *Non boue mactato cœleſtia numina gaudent,*
Sed quæ præſtanda eſt, & ſine teſte fides.

— Optimus ille

Sil. l. 4.

Militiæ, cui poſtremum eſt primumq́, tenere
Inter bella fidem. —

The Duke of *Millan*, contrary to the articles at *Vercelli*, agreed vpon between him & *Charles* 8. leaues *Lucio Maluezzo*, with ſtore of forces in *Piſa*: pretending they were the Genoweſe ſouldiers, whom he had no authority to drawe thence. He ſuffers two carrackes

rackes armed at *Genoa*, to go to the ſuccours of *Ferdinand*: and alledgeth for excuſe, that they were hired for that ſeruice of *Naples*, before the peace was concluded. He labours them of *Genoa* vnder hand; to deliuer no pledges; He perſwades them not to ſuffer their ſhippes, which were all readie rigged and preſt for the Kings vſe, to be manned with French ſouldiers, without good ſecurity for the reſtitution: a thing notablie preiudiciall to the French affaires in *Naples*: but he hath this euaſion, that his authoritie was not abſolute ouer that city, but limited with ſuch reſtraints, as it was lawfull for her to do what ſhe liſt, in matter touching her owne particular. Yet this laſt was the fineſt fetch of all the reſt: He ſecretly procures the Pope, to command both himſelfe, and the city of *Genoa*, vpon paine of the Churches cenſure, to ſuffer no ſhippes to go out of that port, for the French Kings ſeruice.

APHORISME V.

THere[1] *is nothing more ſacred, or more religiouſly to be obſerued, then the inuiolable priuiledge and freedome of Embaſſadours: for, they ſuſtaine in their perſon, as well the maieſtie of their Maſter, as the manage of his affaires. No Prince therefore ought to arreſt his Embaſſadour, with whom he is not in open warre and vtter defiance, or hath had the like firſt offered to his owne.*[2] *He that doth otherwiſe, violates all lawes of armes and nations; and leaues example of deteſtation, rather then of imitation.*

1 *Legatus, vicarius eſt, eſt enim locum tenens, fiduciariam operam ſuperioris obtinens.* Bud. in l. poſt de orig. iuris

Sanctum & inuiolabile apud omnes nationes, Legatorum nomen. Cæſ. bel. Gal

Sentio ius Legatorum cùm hominum præſidio munitum ſit, etiam iure diuino eſſe vallatum. Cic. Aruſp.

Legatos & caduceatores non ſolùm conſtituit ſacris proximos, verùm etiam inter res ipſas ſacras. Paſc. de Æſ.

Si ſint legati hoſtium noſtrorum, iniquè queritur is qui ab hoſte hoſtiliter accipitur: quippe hoſtis nihil hoſtile ſanctum putat. Paſch. Legat

Legato-

Tacit.hiſt.l.5. Liui.lib.1.

2 *Legatorum priuilegia violare, rarum & inter hoſtes.*
De Legatis paululum addubitatum eſt, & quanquam viſi ſunt commiſiſſe, vt hoſtium loco eſſent; ius tamen Gentium valuit.

Liui.lib.21. Pro.Ital.

Contra ius Gentium eſt Legatos comprehendi.
Ambaſciador non porta pena.

Guy-Anthony Veſpuccio the Florentine Embaſſadour to the French king, after his diſpatch at *Turin* in *Piemont*, is returning home, through the State of *Millan*, without all feare or ſuſpition of arreſting or intercepting by the way, becauſe that Duke and the French were now in amitie, and the Common-wealth of *Florence* had not as yet declared her ſelfe enemie to either of the parties. The Duke of *Millan* is deſirous to vnderſtand the ſecrets of his negotiation. He ſends out his Warrant to attach him in the way. He is arreſted at *Alexandria*: brought to *Millan*: and hath all his writings and inſtructions taken from him. By theſe the Duke knowes the whole effect of the buſineſſe concluded, and the capitulations agreed vpon betweene them and the king. Hereupon he with the State of *Venice*, reſolue preſently to enter into the warre of *Piſa* againſt them.

APHORISME VI.

CVſtom 1 *hath taught natiõs, and Reaſon mẽ, and Nature beaſts, that ſelf-defence is alwaies lawfull: but inuaſion hath her preſcribed limits.* 2 *For, though the law of nature, which gaue* omnia omnibus, *ſeeme to allow it: yet the law of State, which made* meum *and* tuum, *reſtraines it to theſe two conditions, either to reuenge an vniuſt wrong, or to recouer a iuſt right. Wherefore Glory and Empire, are two goodly things, if gotten well: but they are no good motiues to make a warre, or encroach and entrude vpon the poſſeſſions of others.*

Liui.lib.5. 1 *Sunt & belli ſicut pacis iura: iuſtè ea non minùs quàm fortiter debes gerere.*

Libertatem

Libertatem, patriam, parentes, armis tegas. Saluſt.Cat.

2 *Inuaſio iuſta & licita, cum iniuriam vindicas, & iure gentium res tuas repetis.* Lip.pol.l.5.

Ita bellum ſuſcipiatur, vt nihil aliud quàm pax quæſita videatur. Cic.off.l.3.

Cum duo ſint genera decertandi, vnum per diſceptationem, alterum per vim: cúmque illud proprium ſit hominis, hoc belluarum: confugiendum eſt ad poſterius, ſi vti non licet ſuperiore. Cic.off.l.2.

Gloriam & imperium meditaris? Peccas. Nec dirigenda aliò arma ſunt, quàm ad tranquillitatem & quietem. Lip.ē Cicer.

Sors qui gloriam ſpernit, veram habebit: nam more Crocodili non niſi fugientem ſequitur. Apop.Senec

Is mihi videtur ampliſsimus, qui ſua virtute in altiorem locum peruenit, non qui aſcendit per alterius incommodum & calamitatem. Cic.pro Roſ

Tu ergo quæ habent ſpeciem gloriæ, collecta ex inaniſsimis ſplendoris inſignibus, contemne: breuia, fugacia, & caduca exiſtima. Cic.Tuſc.3.

The ſtrong building that at firſt was framed betweene the Italian Princes, to impeach the Venetians greatneſſe, is now at length ſhreudly ſhaken: one chiefe corner ſtone (the king of *Naples*) is diſlocate, and vtterly broken. The king of *France* is returned home; and hath left *Piſa* abandoned to the hazard of her owne fortune, to be banded and toſſed among the Princes of *Italy*. She is not able to defend her ſelfe, nor willing to returne to the Florentine ſubiection; ſhe had rather vndergo any other miſery, or ſubmit her ſelfe vnder any other gouernment. *Venice* caſteth her eye vpon this prey, as the onely meanes to compaſſe the monarchie of *Italy*, to which ſhe aſpired. The ſame ambitious intent hath the Duke of *Millan*: though both the one and the other couered their deſſeigned end, vnder pretence of the compaſſion they had vpon the diſtreſſed eſtate, and forlorne hopes of *Ferdinand* king of *Naples*: and of intention to hinder the Florentines, from ſending money, and ſupplies of forces to the French againſt him: but the truth was, as the end after ſhewed, that their chiefe motiue to this enterpriſe was ambition.

APHORISME VII.

AS it is fit, that Princes in one hand ſhould hold thoſe in extraordinarie place of fauour, whom they ſhall pleaſe; being more eminent then others, either in bloud, merit, or ſome cauſe elſe, beſt knowne to themſelues: So is it as requiſite, that in the other hand they ſhould hold the rod of Iuſtice and correction ouer them, when they abuſe this fauour. For when the fauourite ſhall dare to contradict, or diſobey the expreſſe commandement of his Maſter; and to giue him check-mate, by ſtopping the draught of his power, it is intollerable: it derogateth too much from his honour that ſo ill beſtowed the fauour, and ſtaineth the honeſtie of him that ſo vnworthily receiued, and ſo vngratefully requited it.

Procop. *Sicut ignis eſt vt vrat, & lucem præbeat: ſic Regis eſt, vt benefaciat & puniat.*

Ariſt.pol.l.5. Κοινὴ φυλακὴ πασῆς Μοναρχίας, τὸ μηδένα ποιεῖν ἕνα μέγαν. *Communis imperij cuſtodia eſt, neminem vnum, magnum facere.*

Dion.lib.3. *Nulli amicorum aut officialium tuorum, nimis eſt indulgenda potentia, ſed ita moderanda, vt nec te in culpam aut reprehenſionem conijciant.*

Tacit.Agric. *Periculoſum, priuati hominis nomen, ſupra Principis, attolli.*

Lip.pol.l.4. *His non ſolùm magnos honores, ſed & longos dari abnuo.*

Tacit.hiſt.l 2 *Eſto mihi ſolus arbiter rerum, iure ac nomine regio.*

Lip.pol.l.4. *Non ſolùm à te præcipua vis, ſed etiam apud te ſit.*

Cic.ad Q.fr. *Species ipſa gratioſi liberti, aut ſerui, dignitatem habere nullam poteſt.*

Tacit. Agric. *Ne ad famam tuam geſtis exultes, ſed ad authorem & Ducem vt miniſter, fortunam referas.*

Martial.ep. l.1. *Læſerat ingrato leo perfidus ore magiſtrum,*
—Auſus tam notas contaminare manus:
Sed dignas tanto perſoluit crimine pœnas,
—Et qui non tulerat verbera, tela tulit.

D'Entraghes, a follower and creature of *Ligni*, the Kings minion, is left Gouernour of the Cittadell of *Piſa*. The Kings expreſſe commandement by his Letters patents is brought to him, charging him vpon ſight to ſurrender vp that place into the Florentines hands. He makes difficultie to obey, conſtruing the Kings letters in a wrong ſence, and ſometimes denying flatly

ly

ly to deliuer vp the peece, till he had commiſſion from *Ligni*, by a ſpeciall token. The Florentines are forced to ſend backe to the King, for a ſtronger warrant. The king is angrie with *Ligni*: commands his pleaſure to be fulfilled, and a man of worth and authoritie to be ſent to *d' Entraghes*, for diſpatch of the buſineſſe. *Ligni* ſends onely a priuate gentleman, & as was thought, with commiſſion quite contrary to the Kings direct will and pleaſure: as appeared by *d' Entraghes* delay, who would not yet yeeld vp the place. To the great hinderance of the Florentine affaires, but greater derogation to the maieſtie and honour of the King, and greateſt imputation of inſolence and obſtinacie to the Minion himſelfe.

APHORISME VIII.

SMall[1] *matters haue great effects in all humane actions, but greateſt in thoſe of warre: for, one onely word miſ-vnderſtood, ouerthroweth many times both the action and the actors.*[2] *Wherefore a wiſe Generall, ſhould accuſtome his ſouldiers to this diſcipline, Neuer to take a-larme, or apprehenſion of ſodaine danger, from what other doe or ſay; but from his owne immediate Officer, or them in place aboue him.*

1 *Nil tam leue eſt, quod non magnæ interdum rei momentum faciat.* Liui.lib.25.

Sæpe paruis momentis magni caſus: Qui vt nihil timendi, ſic nec contemnendi. Lip.pol.l.4.

Nihil in bello oportet contemni. Æmy.Prob

Bellum ex momentis paruarum ſæpe rerum dependet. Liui.l.32.

Sæpè, vana pro veris, maximè in bello valent. Liui.l.34.

Sæpe quod falsò creditum eſt, veri vicem obtinuit. Curt.l.8.

Vn petit accident, eſt ſouuentesfois le commencement des grands maux, Am.Plut.Agis.

2 *Ex quocumque vel leuiſſimo motu, in fugam conjcitur miles, & cæteris metum incutere ſolet: itaque vel imprimis hoc cauere debet prudens Imperator, ne tales aliquæ voces, vel à ſe, vel à ſuis, in alium finem emiſſæ, malè intellectæ, motus alicuius cauſæ fiant: Præſtabit autem id ſi militem aſſueſcat, ne curet cuiuſquam dicta datáq;, niſi eorum qui ei præfecti ſunt.* Macc.diſ.l.3

Polyæn.ſtrat l.2.

Nocturni terrores Clearchi exercitum inuaſerunt: At ille præcepit, ſi noctu tumultus oriretur, nemo rectus conſurgeret: Hoc præceptum docuit milites contemnere nocturnum terrorem.

The Factions, *Guelphe* and *Ghibelline*, had partialiſts in many great cities of *Italie*. In *Perugia* the *Baglioni* were chiefe of the Guelphes, the *Oddi* of the other. Thoſe, had *Spoletum*, *Camerino*, and ſome other neighbour townes, to friend: Theſe, had *Fuligni*, and *Aſceſi*. This, of the *Oddi*, being the weaker partie, is baniſhed *Perugia*. They flee to their friends: gather forces, to the number of three hundred horſe, and fiue hundred foote: approach the citie by night: enter, and put ſome to the ſword, the reſt to flight: march forward as maſters of the towne, to the head of a ſtreete butting vpon the market place. Here they finde a chaine drawne, which one of the foremoſt eſſaying to breake with his Axe, calls to them in the Ranke next behind him, (who preſſed ſo neare as they hindred him from fetching his blow) *Backe, backe*. The word paſſeth from Ranke to Ranke, to them in the Reare: theſe, ſuppoſing it to proceed from ſome ſodaine danger, begin to flee. They before, ſeeing the Reare in rout, apprehend ſome perill on that part, and flee alſo a-maine themſelues: leauing the victorie which they had in their hands, to the enemie; by whom they were purſued, ouertaken, and ſlaine in great numbers.

APHORISME IX.

HE[1] that will venture to ſea, muſt prouide Biſcot; and he that will enter into warre, muſt haue meanes of his owne. [2] For to ſettle his aſſurance vpon the bare promiſe of Seconds (without couenant or caution) is to ſet vp his Reſt when he ſees but Colour: and to embarque himſelfe into an affaire of charge and danger, in hope of their aid, is to put his goods in a rotten bottome. Such venturous Gameſters, often miſſe an en-counter: and ſuch Merchant-venturers ſeldome eſcape the Counter.

1 *Il*

1 *Il faut de Biſcuit, deuant que s'embarquer.* Am.Pl. Age.
2 *Conſilium ab omnibus datur, periculum paucos ſumit.* Tac.hiſt. l.3.
Che ſempre è riputato pazzo eſpreſſo Ariſt.Ca.40.
Che più ſi fida in altri, che in ſe ſteſſo.
Incipere bellum cuiuis licet, deponi cum victores velint. Saluſt. Iug.
Vt in puteum facilè te immiſeris, haud facilè eduxeris: ſic in bellum. Lip.pol.l.5.
Voyez la miſere d'vn homme, qui ſe fie trop és autres: qu'au beſoigne il eſt conſtraint, de ſe taire. Am. Plut. Grace.
Qui s'appuye ſur les paroles, et ſignes de faueur des hommes, conte ſans ſon hoſte, et ſe trouue mal logé. Ibidem.
Ἐξεπάτησεν ἡ χάραξ τὸν ἄμπελον. *i. Decepit vineam palus ſuam.* Ariſtoph.
Parùm tuta Maieſtas, ſine viribus eſt. Liui. lib. 11.
Viliùs conſtat armis erudire ſuos, quàm alienos mercede conducere. Veg.l.1.c.28
Vires regni & Romani nominis, in prima delectorum examinatione conſiſtit. Ibid.
E qual è di pazzia ſegno più eſpreſſo Ariſt.Ca.24.
Che per altri voler, perder ſe ſteſſo.

Venice, and *Millan*, wiſh the troubles of the State of *Florence*, that ſhe might neither be able to recouer *Piſa*, nor aide the French: to this effect, they perſwade *Peter Medici*, and *Virginio Orſini*, to ſet vpon that State with all the force they can make: a motion plauſible to them both, if they may be well backed, and ſeconded: to the one being baniſhed, to recouer his countrie to the other being a ſouldier, to be in action and entertainement. They make this faire offer, for a better ground of the deſigne, that while they two ſhall giue vpon that State, on the ſide towards *Siena*, *Bentiuoglio* their ſtipendiary, ſhall aſſaile them towards *Bologna*, and the ſonnes of *Katherine Zforza* (in paie with the Duke) ſhall ſet vpon that part towards *Romagna*: and ſo they ſhall be beſet on euery ſide. *Medici* and *Orſini* enter the action, in hope of theſe ſeconds: but *Bentiuoglio* will not embroile himſelf in troubles, againſt ſo potent a State and neighbour, for another mans intereſt: the Duke falles off, becauſe, though he wiſhed ill to *Florence*, yet he was loath that *Medici*, whom he had ſo much wronged, ſhould be rimpatriate, and recouer his greatneſſe. *Venice* alone would not be at the charge. The *Riarij*, ſonnes of the Lady, could do little of themſelues. And ſo the enterpriſe quailed, to the great loſſe onely of thoſe that engaged themſelues ouer-farre, in hope of theſe ſeconds.

APHORISME X.

THe[1] *olde Spartane that had conquered by pollicie offered an oxe: but he that preuailed by force, offered onely a cocke. Because the greater ſacrifice of thankfulneſſe was due to the gods from him, and the greater praiſe and reward was due to him from the State.*[2] *But this is the greateſt glory of all, to driue out the nayle of thine enemies practiſe, with a ſtronger of thine owne, and to blow him vp in his owne mine. Pollicie againſt force deſerueth much, and preuaileth often, but by ſtratageme to preuaile againſt pollicie, is euer excellent.*

Plutarch. Marcell.

1 Θύει μὲν ἐν Σπάρτῃ τὴν ἀποστράτηγον, ὁ μὲν δι' ἀπάτης, ἢ πειθοῦς, ὁ βέλεται διαπραξάμενος, βοῦν· ὁ δὲ διὰ μάχης, Ἀλεκτορα. *Spartæ, ille qui rem dolo aut ſuaſione confecit, bouem immolat: qui prælio, Gallum.*

Thucyd. l. 9.

Facinorum militarium, ea ſunt minoris laudis, ac momenti, quæ propalàm ac per vim tractantur, his quæ ex occaſione, & per dolum.

Thucyd. l. 5.

2 *Illa belli furta pulcherrimam laudem habent, per quæ hoſtes maximè decipiuntur, & amici plurimùm iuuantur.*

Adag. Poly.

Malo nodo malus quærendus eſt cuneus.

Maccia. diſc. l. 3.

Quamuis in cæteris humanis actionibus omnibus, deteſtabilis ſit vſus fraudis, tamen in bello gerendo, dolo quis ſumma cum laude vti poterit: nec minùs glorioſum eſt, hoſtem dolo, quàm viribus ſuperare.

Tac. An. l. 2.

Plura conſilio, quàm vi perficiuntur.

Saluſt. Cat

Periculo atque negotijs compertum eſt, plurimùm ingenium poſſe.

Vlpian. l. 1.

Romani veteres bonum dolum dicebant: & pro ſolertia hoc nomen accipiebant, maximè, ſi aduerſus hoſtem, latronemve quis machinaretur.

Taſ. Cant. 4.

Fra lor' entrate, e in vltimo lor' danno,
Hor' la forza s'adopri, & hor' l'inganno.

The ſouldiers of *Ferdinand* plot with ſome of the French garriſon in *Gifone* caſtle, neare *San-Seuerino*, to betray the place vnto them: the French entertaine the motion, and aſſigne an houre, and the manner, for the execution: meane while they ſecretly acquaint the gouernor. The Arragoneſes come at the time appointed: finde a port open: and enter: they are taken in the trappe:

trappe: ſeuen hundred of them, part horſe, and part foote, are ſlaine on the place: the reſt are taken priſoners.

APHORISME XI.

ALL[1] *things haue their time. The Romane that wondered at thoſe peoples folly, who plaied with their little dogges and munkeyes, hauing little children of their owne to play with: what would he haue ſaid to ſuch, who purſue their delights with greateſt earneſtneſſe, when they are farre engaged in buſineſſe of greateſt conſequence? For, we ſhould deale with our pleaſures, as with little whelpes: Neuer play with them, but when we haue nothing to do: or for want of better company.* [2] *That Prince therefore that preferres the ſweet of his delights, before the care of his ſafetie, and loues his eaſe more then his honour, makes his enemy the ſtronger to offend him, and diſables himſelfe of all meanes of defence. Theſe appetites that are rather liquorous of toothſome then holeſome things, are dangerous as well in States, as in mens bodies.*

1 *Rex eligitur, non vt ſeſe molliter curet, ſed vt per ipſum, ij qui elegerunt, benè beatéq; agant.* Xen.dict.& fact.Soc.l.3.

Malus ille, qui ex magna fortuna licentiam tantùm vſurpat. Tacit.hiſt.4

Maximo imperio, maxima cura ineſt. Ibid.

Princeps remiſſum aliquando animum habebit, numquam ſolutum. Tacit. hiſt.3.

Eſt virtus placitis abſtinuiſſe bonis. Ouid.

— Sanè hercle homo voluptati obſequens Ter.Hecyr.

Fuit dum vixit: & qui ſic ſunt haud multùm hæredem iuuant.

2 *Tu ciuem, patrémque geras, tu conſule cunctis:* Sil.l.15.

Quippe nec ira deûm tantum, nec tela, nec hoſtes,
Quantum ſola nocet animis illapſa voluptas.

Solutè viuentes deſpicabiles fiunt, & multas opportunitates præbent inſidiantibus. Ariſt.pol.l.5.

Nemo celeriùs opprimitur, quàm qui nihil timet.

Magna imperia non continentur ignauia: ſed virorum armorumque faciendum certamen. Tacit.an.15.

Sperne voluptates: nocet empta dolore voluptas. Hor. ep.l.1.

Fera eſt, mancipans ſibi homines voluptas: vel potiùs non fera, nam ſi apertè pugnaret, citò caperetur: nunc autem etiam ideo inuiſa magis, quòd celat inimicitiam Plu.l.cont. voluptat.

citiam, induta habitum beneuolentiæ: itaque dupliciter auerſanda, & quòd nocet, & quòd fallit.

Monpenſier can doe no great good in *Naples*, for want of monie to pay his ſouldiers: eſpecially the Swiſſe. *Don Frederick* and *Don Cæſar* of *Arragon*, put the French partie to the worſe in *Puglia*. The Count *Pepoli* hath much the better vpon *Gratiano*, in *Abbruzzi*. *D'Aubigni* is ſicke, and *Gonſaluo* the great captaine, winnes daily ground vpon him in *Calabria*. Thus ouer all that kingdome the French goes to the wall. The King of Spaine is come in perſon, with a great armie as farre as *Perpignan*, and his Spaniſh troopes, without reſiſtance, rauage, and harrey all ouer *Languedock*: yet for all theſe aduantages, *Ferdinand* (to enioy the kingdome of *Naples* quietly) offers to hold it of the French King: and to pay him the yearely tribute of fiftie thouſand Duckats. *Charles* 8, notwithſtanding theſe hard tearmes, wherein his affaires ſtood, refuſeth the offer: makes light of the Spaniſh incurſions: prouides neither money nor ſupplies for *Naples*. But giues himſelfe wholly ouer to his delights, of the Tilt, Turney, and other Court pleaſures: like one that was neither capable to maintaine a warre, nor entertaine a peace. To the great declination of his affaires in *Italy*, and blemiſh of his reputation in the world.

APHORISME XII.

AVthority[1] *is the life and ſoule of a Monarchie: And contempt of the Prince in a ſubiect, is more dangerous then hate: for, it is better to liue in a State, where nothing is lawfull, then there where a man may do what he liſt.*[2] *That Prince therefore, who ſuffers the vaſſall, to turne his awfull obedience, into wilfull contumacy, without condigne puniſhment, hindreth his preſent affaires, and diſhonoureth his preſent gouernement.*

Senec. Med. 1 *Nemo potentes aggredi tutus poteſt.*

Authoritatem

Authoritatem tolle, tollis Regnum: omniſq; hic Imperij contextus, in multas partes diſsiliet. Sen.de Clē.

Ad fidem faciendam authoritas quæritur. Cic.topic.

Ne patiatur hebeſcere aciem authoritatis ſuæ. Cic.Cat.

2 *Contemptus, peſsima omnino res eſt Regnis: quorum anima & vita, ipſa eſt autoritas.* Lip.pol.l.4.

Contemptus, mors eſt, & interitus regnorum: immò ſupra odium, aliquo adſpectu. Id.ibid.

Cauſa prima & motio euertendis regnis, plærumque ab odio fit: ſed extrema & efficax maximè à contemptu. Lip.pol.l.5.

Contemptus excutit timoris frænum, & efficit, vt non velis ſolùm, ſed audeas & tentes. Lip.pol.l.4.

Malum eſt Principem habere, ſub quo nihil vlli liceat: Peius verò eum ſub quo omnia omnibus. Dion.

Cum duæ cauſæ ſint, ob quas inſurgitur in tyrannos: Odium, & Contemptus: alteram earum adeſſe tyrannis oportet, odium: è contemptu vero plurimæ fiunt Euerſionum. Ariſt.pol.l.5.

Vt qui obtuſo fræno conatur equum domare excutitur, equo contemnente frænum: ſic qui populum vincere conatur, non ſatis inſtructus potentia, ab imperio deturbatur. Plin.

The French king offended with *d'Entraghes*, Gouernour of the Cittadell of *Piſa*, for his diſobedience and contumacie, in not yeelding vp the place vpon his firſt commaund, ſends him now a new order, more ſtrict and peremptory, with menacing threats, if he ſhould faile to execute forthwith this his expreſſe will and commandement. The meſſage is brought him by *Gemel.* He ſtill perſiſteth in his obſtinate diſobedience. *Bona* a kinſman of his owne, is ſent vnto him, to perſwade him, whom *d'Entraghes* drawes to be of his minde. Theſe two trafficke with *Lucio Maluezzo*, the Duke of *Millans* factor, in that buſineſſe. They ſell vnto the Piſans the Cittadell (which the King commanded ſhould be ſurrendred to the Florentines) for twentie thouſand Duckats: whereof, they diuide eight among the garriſon; themſelues ſhare the reſt. They conſigne it into the hands of the Piſans: by this conſignation, the Citie was wholly at the deuotion of the confederates, the Kings profeſſed enemies; and the French in *Naples*, could haue neither the men nor the money promiſed by the Florentines. Againe, the baſtard of *Bibbienna*, Gouernour of *Serezzana*, by order and commiſſion from *Ligni*

the Kings minion, ſels the towne to the Genoweſe, for twentie fiue thouſand Duckats: Whereas the King his maſter had ſent expreſſe order to him by *Robert de Veſté* a gentleman of his chamber, that it ſhould be re-deliuered to the Florentines, whoſe commiſſaries and officers were alreadie come to take poſſeſſion. The like did the Caſtellane of *Serezzanello*. Beſides, *d'Entraghes*, (vnder whoſe gouernment were the fortreſſes of *Pietra-ſanta*, *Mutrone*, and *Libra-fatta*) keepes this laſt Peece ſtill in his hands, and ſels the other two, by the perſwaſion of the Duke of *Millan*, to the *Luccheſi*. Matters vncredible, that a Kings pleaſure ſhould be thus croſſed, his will diſobeyed, and his lenitie abuſed: except onely to thoſe, who knew the weakneſſe and inconſtancie of this Prince, how little power he had among his owne, and how much euery one will dare to preſume in a State and againſt a Prince, vnder whom any thing is lawfull.

APHORISME XIII.

THe [1] beſt armour of proofe and tower of defence to a Prince, are his vertues, if he commaund ouer loyall ſubiects: and the beſt Bridles for head-ſtrong rebels, are Cittadels, then which nothing is more neceſſary to curbe and reſtraine them. [2] But ſuch people, who hold themſelues ſubiects, not ſlaues, call them the Neſts of Tyrants: and therefore when they get them into their hands, demoliſh them to the very foundation. As therefore it is good policie, to reſtraine that nature by force, which will not be wonne by faire meanes: ſo on the other ſide, it is a great eaſe to the offender, to ſee the rod burnt. Wherefore a people ſhould either not deſerue them, or endure them: and a Prince ſhould either not build them, or keepe them ſafe from ſurpriſall.

Petrar. Dial.

1 *Circumualla pijs animum intentionibus, honeſtis vitam artibus: prudentiam & fortitudinem ante fores loca: iuſtitiam ac modeſtiam in propugnaculis: humanitatem & manſuetudinem vndique in muris: ſpem & fidem arcis in medio:*

dio: prouidentiam ſupremo turris in vertice: bonam denique famam in circuitu.

Vt ſubditi quos ſuſpectos habemus, in officio contineantur, ſunt muris, foſsis, & propugnaculis coercendi. Thucyd.l.4.

——Vrbem premit, Sen.Thyeſt.
Et contumacem regibus populum ſuum
Habet ſub ictu.——

Vbiq; arces ſunt compedes libertatis, Petr.dial.82.
Verè ſedes ſeruitutis. Tacit.Agric.

Ego tibi oſtendam tutiſsimam munitiſsimamq; arcem, ſine muris, ſine turribus, ſine vllo prorſus operoſo rerum apparatu. Si vis tutò viuere, benè viue: nil virtute ſecurius. Petrar.dial.

2 *Domiti vt pareant: non vt ſeruiant.* Lip.pol.l.4.

Non aſſuetæ frænis ſeruitutis, tumidæ gentium inflatæq; ceruices, facilè ab impoſito iugo reſiliunt. Flor.l.1.

Sicut in corporibus ægris, nihil quod nociturum eſt Medici relinquunt, ſic, quicquid obſtat imperio, ſiue ſaluti, recidendum eſt. Curt.l.6.

Diurnum, inuiſum, & graue eſt, ſeruitia ferre. Senec.Tro.

Nids de la tyrannie, ne doiuent pas demeurer au bout: ains demandent d'eſtre rages, apres que les funeſtes & mal-encontreux oiſeaux de proye, logez dedans, ſon deſlogez. Am.Plut. Dem.

The Piſans haue bought the Cittadell for twentie thouſand Duckats: a deare purchaſe to them that were ſo poore: for of this ſumme, they were forced to borrow foure thouſand of the Duke of *Millan:* as much of the State of *Venice*, other foure thouſand of *Genoa* and *Lucca:* the reſt they made vp of their owne. The place is no ſooner put into their hands, but the whole citie men and women runne all pell-mell to the razing thereof, and neuer giue ouer, while there is one ſtone ſtanding vpon another.

APHORISME XIIII.

THe [1] vaine-glorious man lookes vpon himselfe through a false glasse; which makes euery thing seeme fairer and greater then it is. And this flatuous humour, filleth the emptie bladder of his vaste thoughts, with so much winde of pride, as he presumes, that Fortune, who hath once bene his good Mistris, should euer be his Hand-maid. But the wings of selfe-conceit, wherewith he towereth so high, are patched of borrowed feathers, and these imped in the soft waxe of vncertaine hope, which vpon the encounter of euery small heate of danger, will melt and faile him. [2] For Fortune deales with him, as the Eagle with the Tortoise, she carries him the higher, that she may breake him the easilier. [3] And therefore a Prince, in the middest of his prosperitie, must thinke of the worlds instabilitie: and that Fortune is constant in nothing but Inconstancie.

Ex Menand. 1 *Quo tibi maximè places, idipsum te pessundabit, nempe opinio qua tibi aliquis esse videris: perdidit enim etiam alios infinitos.*

Tacit.an.l.3. *Læta omnia sibi fingunt.*

Prob. *Rebus secundis etiam egregij Duces insolescunt: Nimia hæc autem fiducia, magnæ calamitati solet esse.*

Senec.Oed. *Res secundæ, non habent vnquam modum.*

Sil.l.1. *Heu cæcæ mentes, tumefactaq; corda secundis.*

Ouid.Met.6 *Sum fælix, quis enim neget hoc? fælixq; manebo:*
Hoc quoque quis dubitet? tutum me copia fecit,
Maior sum quàm cui possit Fortuna nocere.

Sen.Agam. 2 *—— Clades præscire qui refugit suas,*
Grauat timorem: dubia plus torquent mala.

Sen.Theb. *Licet omne tecum Græciæ robur trahas,*
Licet arma longè miles, & latè explicet:
Fortuna semper belli ancipiti est loco.

Menander. Ἀλαζονείας ὑ τὶς ἐκφεύγει δίκην. *i. Pœnam arrogantiæ effugit nemo suæ.*

Seneca. *Tolluntur in altum, vt lapsu grauiore ruant.*

Iustin.l.31. 3 *Non minùs in secundis aduersa, quàm in aduersis secunda, cogitanda sunt.*

Curt.l.6. *Continentia & moderatio in altissima quaque fortuna, eminentissimum bonum.*

Curt.l.4. *Licèt fælicitas aspirare videatur, tamen ad vltimum temeritati non sufficit.*

Fortunæ

Fortunæ mutabilitas, eſt immutabilis. Adag.
Quæ modò læta manet, vultus modò ſumit acerbos, Ouid.
Et tantùm conſtans in leuitate ſua eſt.

The Duke of *Millan* called himſelfe the ſonne of Fortune, which he preſumed to hold in a band, and haue at his commandement: ſo vainely was he tranſported, and ſo bigge ſwolne with pride, becauſe by his counſaile, the French King came downe into *Italy*: *Medici*, who loued him not, was baniſhed *Florence*. *Florence* which oppoſed his deſſeignes, had loſt *Piſa*: and the *Arrogoneſe*, his capitall enemies, were driuen out of *Naples*. Againe, when the ſtate of things altered in *Italy*, and that he found it fitting his purpoſe, he wrought the returne of *Ferdinand* into his loſt kingdome: he plotted and effected the combination, of many potentates, againſt the French King: and was the chiefe cauſe of his diſhonourable retreite out of *Italy*. This makes him miſpriſe and vnder-valew, the pollicy and wiſdome of all other Princes, in reſpect of his owne: to take vpon him the manage and direction of all affaires in *Italy*: and to preſume of like continuance of ſucceſſe, in all his future actions. But the euent ſhewed ſhortly to his coſt, and loſſe both of State and libertie, how farre wide he was of the true account, when he caſt vp this falſe reckoning, of what he had done, and was due vnto him: but forgot thoſe his debtes to Fortune, and Nature, which all wiſe Princes are carefull of.

APHORISME XV.

Elder times held her to haue ſufficient dower, that was vertuouſly endowed: But theſe latter, hold her good enough, that hath goods enough. 2 So fareth it in publike purchaſes: for, the old poſition was this, Iuſtice is to be preferred before profit: But now the tearmes are tranſpoſed in the propoſition: and the ambitious deſire of rule, neuer diſputeth the equitie, but the

benefit of the action it vndertaketh. Thus ſtandeth the obſeruation, but the præcept teacheth the contrary.

Plaut. Aul. 1 *Dummodò morata benè veniat, dotata eſt ſatis.*

Auſon. *Quæ dos matronis pulcherrima? vita pudica.*

Horat. *Vxorem cum dote, fidemq́, & amicos,*
Et genus, & formam, regina pecunia donat.

Plaut. Perſa. *Tace ſtulta, non tu nunc hominum mores vides,*
Cuiuſmodi? hic cum mala fama facilè nubitur.
Dum dos ſit, nullum vitium vitio vertitur.

Parut. l. 2. diſc. 2. 2 *Le Ragioni di Stato, ſi veſtono di molti riſpetti particolari, con i quali i Prencipi (tenuto ô ſolo ô principalmente conto di ciô, che lor' torna più comodo et vtile) non chiamano ne' ſuoi conſigli, La Guiſtitia, ô l'equità: ô non l'attribuiſcono quella parte, che ſe le deue.*

Quintil. 321. *Quæ toto orbe terrarum committuntur ſcelera, plæraque ex cupiditate naſcuntur.*

Demoſt. *Non eſt apud eos qui immodica cupiditate ducuntur, quicquam firmi vel ſancti.*

Curt. l. 6. *Auida ſpes regni, præcipitem animum, ad vltimum nefas impellit.*

Liui. 28. *Maximum, cupiditas imperij, malum inter mortales eſt.*

Tacit. an. 13. *Vnde vtilitas oſtendebatur, illuc libidinem transferebat.*

Arioſt. Cant. 44. *Quindi auuien' che tra' Prencipi e ſignori,*
Patte Conuenzion' ſono ſi frali:
Fan lega hoggi, Re, Papi, imperadori.
Doman ſaran nemici capitali:
Perche, quell' apparenze eſteriori
Non hanno i Cor', non han gl'animi tali,
Che non mirando al torto, più ch'al dritto,
Attendon ſolamente à lor profitto.

The State of *Venice* deliberates, whether to vndertake the protection of *Piſa*, or not: ſhe calles not in queſtion the Iuſtice of the action, to defend rebels againſt their lawfull Lordes, but, whether ſhe ſhould do it at her owne charge, or ioyntly with others: the matter is controuerſed in Senate: The grauer and wiſer ſort are for the negatiue, not to vndertake it alone. Their reaſons: becauſe it hath in it great difficulty, *Piſa* being ſo farre diſtant from this State by land, but tenne times farther by ſea: of great expence, the Florentines being ſo rich, and ſo reſolutely bent not to quitte their right in that citie: Of great danger, the other States of *Italy* being already iealous of the Venetian greatneſſe,

neſſe, would now vndoubtedly combine themſelues againſt her: eſpecially *Zforza* (out of emulation and enuy, that ſhe ſhould get this ſweet morſel from him, for which he had ſo long, and ſo greedily gaped) would fall to his old tricke of calling in the French nation, to a new trouble and diſturbance of the quiet of *Italy*. It were therefore good pollicy to ioyne with him, in the protection, leaſt the Piſans ſhould wholly ſubmit themſelues vnder him: but in no caſe to draw vpon their owne head, ſuch a weight of charge, and ſuch a world of enuy, where there is no imminent nor vrgent neceſſity. For, præcipitate deliberations and hazardous, are onely neceſſary to thoſe, that ſtand vpon ſiniſter and deſperate tearmes: nor are they voluntarily entred into, except by ſuch great mindes as cannot expect, but will needs take the firſt occaſion offered: Whereas *Venice*, being (in reſpect of other Kings and Princes,) as it were immortall, and alwaies the ſame, had no ſuch reaſon to haſten her deliberations, while the fruite was greene, but to ſtay the ripening, till the times were more fauourable and fitte for her purpoſed deſſeignes. Theſe were the allegations for the negatiue. But *Auguſtino Barbarigo*, and the greater part of the Councell, are for the contrary: becauſe it was an action of honour, to protect the oppreſſed: an act of iuſt reuenge, to diſtreſſe the Florentines, who had for many yeares, impeached the greatneſſe of *Venice*, aſwell in her deſſeigne vpon *Millan*, preſently after the death of *Phillip-Maria* Viſconty, as lately in her warres againſt *Ferrara*: An action of proffit, the citie of *Piſa* being the fitteſt Scale for *Venice*, to climbe to that height of ſoueraignty and monarchy of *Italy*, to which ſhe aſpired. Beſides, as the preſent State of things ſtood, all the other neighbour Princes, were not able to oppoſe againſt her. And as for *Zforza*, he had ſo much wronged the French already, as he would neuer dare to call him in againe. Conſidering therefore how ſeldome ſuch faire occaſions be offered, and what weakneſſe it is to ouer-ſlippe them; they ought, for the glorie of their State and enlargement of her dominions, notwithſtanding all dangers, and difficulties propounded (whereof many

ny by the benefite of Fortune and chance neuer happen, and the reſt may by prouidence be fore-ſeene and preuented) vndertake the protection of *Piſa*. The former opinion had the ſtronger reaſons, but this the ſtronger partie, and preuailed.

APHORISME XVI.

HE[1] *that weareth his heart in his fore-head, and is of an ouuert and tranſparent nature, through whoſe words, as through criſtall, ye may ſee into euery corner of his thoughtes: That man is fitter for a table of good-fellowſhippe, then a Councell table: For vpon the Theater of publick imployment either in peace or warre, the actors muſt of neceſsity weare vizardes, and change them in euerie Scæne. Becauſe, the generall good and ſafetie of a State, is the Center in which all their actions, and counſailes, muſt meete: To which men cannot alwaies arriue by plaine pathes, and beaten waies.*
[2] *Wherefore a Prince may pretend a deſire of friendſhippe with the weaker, when he meanes, and muſt, contract it with the ſtronger. He may ſometimes leaue the common high way, and take downe an vn-uſed by-path, in the leſſer of dangers, ſo he be ſure to recompence it in the greater of ſafetie.*

Lip. pol. l. 4 — 1 *Aperti iſti & ſimplices, qui animum in fronte promptum gerunt, nunquam apti ſunt theatro publico.*

Sto. de prud. — *Vt vitrum quia pellucidum eſt nihil celat: ita quidam nihil tegere, nihil diſſimulare norunt: quicquid in animo eſt, id protinus omnibus palàm eſt.*

E. Terent. — *—— Plenus rimarum, hâc illâc perfluit:*

Lip. pol. l. 4 — 2 *Vinum, vinum eſſe non deſinit, ſi aqua leuiter temperatum: nec prudentia, prudentia, ſi guttulæ in ea fraudis.*

Cic. ep. 19. — *Si rectà portum tenere nequeas, id ipſum mutatâ velificatione, aſſequaris.*

Ouid. faſt. 2. — *Brutus erat ſtulti ſapiens imitator, vt eſſet*
Tutus ab inſidijs, dire tyranne tuis.

Ouid. art. 2. — *Vtile multis-diſſimulaſſe fuit.*

Cic. off. 2. — *Proprium hoc eſt prudentiæ, conciliare ſibi animos hominum, & ad vſus ſuos adiungere.*

Tacit. an. 14. — *Hoc poni debet inter magna illa exempla, quæ habent aliqua ex iniquo, quod aduerſus ſingulos, vtilitate publica rependitur.*

Neceſſa-

Neceſſarium eſt in paruis à iuſtitia abire, qui eam ſaluam velint in magnis.
Societatem alterius palàm indue: ad alterum per occulta, & fida magis inclina. Lip. è Plutar Tacit. an. 12.

The Venetians and Duke of *Millan*, labour their ſtipendiary *Iohn Bentiuoglio*, to warre vpon the Florentines, on that ſide towards *Bologna*. They offer (in caſe he gat *Piſtoia*) to keepe it for him at their charge. He puttes them in hope to vndertake the action, not holding it ſafe for the preſent, to deny them any thing: his citie and his proper inheritance beeing ſeated in the middeſt of the confederates. But fearing likewiſe the deſcent of the French army into thoſe parts, and greater danger that way, he ſendeth ſecretly to the King, to excuſe the matter: promiſeth to depend wholly vpon him, and for his ſake not to moleſt the Florentines.

APHORISME XVII.

NOthing is deare, that is not of neceſſitie. Some things are priſed at a high rate, either for the raritie of the matter, or curioſitie of the workmanſhip: but theſe (being onely for ornament and pleaſure) are not deare, becauſe we may be without them. Things of ordinarie vſe, are at reaſonable rates; becauſe there be many ſellers, as well as buyers: but things of extreame neceſſitie, are valewed according to his need that muſt haue them. For though ſo ſmall a thing as the twig of a bough will ſaue a man from drowning, yet if he meete with a hard Chapman, he muſt giue him his asking, leaſt he ſinke and periſh: So muſt a Prince that is on the loſing hand, rather yeeld to any vnreaſonable demands, then to loſe all. for loſers muſt be no chooſers; nor beggars their owne caruers; but contented to part with a part, that they may ſaue the reſt.

Potiùs quàm venias in periculum, diuidium face.
Melius, dimidium tranquille obtinere, quàm de toto dimicantes perire. Terent. Iul.
Nunquam enim tam iniquæ conditiones deferuntur, quin aliquid boni habeant, & in quo tu viciſſe videri queas. Mac. diſp. 2.
Rebus inclinatis, melius eſt vt te inclines. Lip. pol. 5.

Hor.1.od.24
Senec.
Terent.
Val.Max.

Durum ſed leuius fit patientia — quicquid corrigere eſt nefas.
Feras quod ledit, vt quod prodeſt perferas.
Redime te captum, quàm queas minimo.
Cedit interdum generoſus ſpiritus vtilitati, & fortunæ viribus ſuccumbit: vbi, niſi tutiora conſilia elegerit, ſpecioſa ſequenti concidendum eſt.

Ferdinand is without money, and vtterly vnable of himſelfe to recouer his kingdome. He therefore deſires to be compriſed with the other confederates, in their League offenſiue and defenſiue againſt *France*. The Venetians knowing his wants to be the fitteſt meanes for them to compaſſe their deſſeigne, of ſharing ſome part in that kingdome, oppoſe ſtifly againſt him, and will not haue him admitted. He deſpaires of any more helpe from *Spaine*: and the other Colleagues refuſe to engage themſelues in ſo great an expence. He muſt of neceſſitie yeeld ſome important places to the Venetians, ſuch as lay fitteſt for them, and vpon the ſea, or elſe be ſure to loſe all. He therefore chooſeth the leſſe of euils, and couenanteth with that State, to conſigne into her hands, *Otranto*, *Brindiſi*, and *Trani*: beſides *Monopoli*, and *Pulignano*, (which ſhe held alreadie) till ſhe had rimborſed all her charges of that warre: prouided, that the ſumme exceed not two hundred thouſand Duckats. In conſideration whereof, that State is to aide him with ſeuen hundred men at armes, fiue hundred light horſe, three thouſand foote, and the nauie ſhe had there on that ſide alreadie: not to recall thoſe forces, but for her owne defence. And laſtly, for his preſent neceſſitie, ſhe is to ſupply him with the Impreſt of fifteene thouſand Duckats.

APHO-

APHORISME XVIII.

SOme [1] *States haue got more vpon their neighbours by treaties, then by the ſword, through their ſerious conſultations, and ſlow reſolutions. For, euery thing is done ſoone enough, that is well enough done.* [2] *Wherefore, great actions require great deliberations; and (if once reſolued) ſpeedie execution. All delaies in this caſe are dangerous: eſpecially ſuch as are vpon triuiall and ſleight occaſions. For, they both preiudice the ſucceſſe of the affaire in hand, and blemiſh the honour of the vndertaker. A Prince therefore once embarqued into an action of this nature, muſt not ſay and ſtay, but ſay and doe.*

1 *Priuſquam feceris, diù conſulas oportet: poſtquam conſulueris, maturè opus eſt facto.* Saluſt.

Πράξειν μὲν δεῖ ταχὺ τὰ βεβουλευθέντα, βουλεύεσθαι δὲ βραδέως. *Oportet conſulere tardè, citò conſulta exequi.* Ariſt.pol.4.

Nam qui celeriter & extemplò conſilium dant, quæ in rem ſunt maximè conſulunt. Cic.Philip. orat.1.

Ma può mal quel de gl'huomini eſſer buono,
Che maturo diſcorſo non aiti,
Oue non s'habbia à ruminar ui ſopra
Speſo alcun' tempo, e molto ſtudio, & opra. Arioſt.cant. 27.

2 *Multa impetu valida, per tædia & moras euanuere.* Tacit. hiſt.1.
Sæpe multis in rebus nocuit cunctatio. Lib.def.
Pelle moras, breuis eſt magni fortuna fauoris. Sil.l.4.
Tolle moras, ſemper nocuit differre paratis. Lucan.l.1.
Cum deliberare natura ipſa difficile ſit ac graue, vos ipſum adhuc multò grauius reddidiſtis: nam reliqui omnes antè rem rerumq; euentum deliberatione vti conſueuerunt, at vos poſt res tum demum deliberatis. Demoſt.de Athen.

The French affaires in *Naples* are in manifeſt declination, and (without ſpeedie ſuccours) in imminent precipitation and ruine. The King cals his Nobles to counſaile: reſolues thus of the reparation. *Triultio* muſt go before to *Aſti*, as the Kings Lieutenant, with eight hundred Lances, two thouſand Swiſſe, and as many Gaſcons. Thirtie ſhippes, with the two great Carracks, *Normandie* and *Rhodes*, muſt take with them vpon the coaſt of *Prouence*,

thirtie Galies, and Gallions more, laden all with men, munition, money and victuals, for the ſupply of that kingdome. The King himſelfe, and the Duke of *Orleans*, are to follow perſonally, and preſently after, with the Maine of all the forces. All things thus reſolued and diſpoſed, the King pretends he muſt firſt go to S. *Denis*, and *Tourēs*, to performe his vowes at thoſe Shrines, as alſo to deale with the chiefe cities of *France*, for a leuie of greater ſummes of money, leaſt (forſooth) for want thereof, he ſhould be driuen to ſuch ſtreights and ſhifts, as he was in his firſt voyage. But the truth was, the loue he bare to a Ladie of the Queenes chamber, carried him that way, and diuerted him from the courſe ſo maturely reſolued, and ſo reſolutely vndertaken, to the great preiudice of this ſo important a ſeruice. From which, neither the diſſwaſion of his Councell, nor the importunate deprecation of the Italian exiles (euen with teares) could remoue him.

APHORISME XIX.

ARmour for warre, comes out of the publicke Magazine: but the weapons of victorie, are formed on the forge of Diſcipline. For, if they haue not this temper, they loſe their edge in the triall, and turne their point into his bowels that vſeth them. Wherefore, nothing is more neceſſarie in a martiall gouernment, either for the generall good of the affaire, or ſafetie of the ſouldier, then obedience.

Valer. l 2. *Ex diſciplinæ ſinu omnes triumphi manarunt.*

Tac. an. l. 1. *Cum miles Centurioni, Centurio Tribuno obſequitur, facilis fit aditus ad Imperia.*

Xenoph. Ἔστιν δὲ οὐδὲν οὕτως εὔχρηστον οὔτε καλὸν ἀνθρώποις, ὡς ἡ τάξις. *Eſt verò nihil tam vtile, aut decorum hominibus, quàm ordo.*

Curt. l. 3. *Intenti ad ducis non ſignum ſolùm, ſed nutum.*

Veget l. 3. *Paucos viros fortes natura procreat: bona inſtitutione plures reddit induſtria.*

Valer. l. 2. *Diſciplina acriter retenta, Romano imperio terrarum principatum peperit.*

Tacit. hiſt. l. 1 *Parendo potiùs, quàm imperia ducum ſciſcitando, res militaris continetur.*

Miles

Miles hæc tria curare debet: corpus, vt quàm validiſsimum & perniciſsimum habeat: arma apta: animum paratum ad ſubita imperia. Cætera dijs immortalibus & imperatori curæ eſſe. Liui.l.44.

Eight hundred Dutch foote, come to the ſeruice of *Ferdinand*: they are quartered in *Troia*, a towne of the kingdome, and not farre from *Foggia*, where *Ferdinand* lodged with all his forces. The French army vnder *Monpenſier*, lyeth at *Porcina*, hard by the enemy, and betweene him and the Dutch: theſe new-come ſouldiers, will needes of their owne ſwinge, (not by any command) march out of the towne to ioyne with *Ferdinand*: *Fabritio Colonna* gouernour of the place, aduiſeth and chargeth them to the contrary: he is not obeyed. In their march they are ſet vpon by the French; ouercharged with number, and (obſtinate not to yeeld) are all cut in peeces.

APHORISME XX.

SOme [1] *men are ſafe, but not ſecure: Such are they, who after a foule fact ſecretly committed, or a great wrong cloſely offered, haue a conſcience of the guilt ſtill dwelling in them, though the danger of the puniſhment be ouerpaſt. For, albeit they labour to hide it from others, and by all veiles of artifice to keepe it from the light, yet can they neuer perſwade themſelues but that it is knowne:* [2] *And therefore as they in their nature euer feare the partie wronged: ſo the other in his reaſon, ſhould neuer affie in them. For there is no ſinceritie in reconciled enemies.*

1 *Pœnitet ô ſi quid miſerorum creditur vlli,*
Pœnitet, & facto torqueor ipſe meo. Ouid.Pon.1.
Cumq; ſit exilium, magis eſt mihi culpa dolori:
Eſtq; pati pœnam quàm meruiſſe minus.
Perfecto demum ſcelere, magnitudo eius apparet: Tac. hiſt. 12.
Poteſt nocenti contingere vt lateat: nocendi fides non pꝓteſt. Seneca.
Scelus aliqua tutum, nulla ſecurum tulit. Senec.Hip.
Heu quantum miſero pœnæ mens conſcia donat? Lucan.l.5.

Iuue.Sat.13. *Exemplo quodcunque malo committitur, ipſi*
Diſplicet Authori: prima hæc eſt vltio, quòd ſe
Iudice, nemo nocens abſoluitur.

Ouid.Faſt.1. *Conſcia mens vt cuique ſua eſt, ita concipit intra*
Pectora; pro facto ſpemq́, metumq́, ſuo.

Ari.cant.6. *Miſer chi mal oprando ſi confida*
Ch' ogn' hor' ſtar debba il malefizio occolto:
Che, quando ogn' altro taccia, intorno grida
L'Aria, e la terra ſteſſa, in ch' è ſepolta.

Lip.pol.l.5. 2 *Cui illata eſt iniuria, ab inferente non creditur.*
Sen.ep.3. *Vtrumque in vitio eſt, & omnibus credere, & nulli.*
Lip.pol.4. *Reipſa paucis, at in ſpecie omnibus crede.*
Pub.Mim. *Cum inimico in gratiam nemo tutò redit.*

The Duke of *Millan*, was become of a profeſſed friend and allie to the French King, firſt, a ſecret ill wiſher to his affaires, and after, an open enemy: till the treatie at *Vercelli*: Here, they are reconciled, and a new amitie and league concluded: but the Duke meanes nothing leſſe, then ſincere performance. He practiſeth with the diſloiall French in *Piſa*, to keepe ſtill that citie from the Florentines, though the King their maiſter had expreſly commanded the contrary. He counſaileth the Pope, the Venetians, and *Ferdinand*, to combine together, for the protection thereof. He declares not himſelfe openly, but cloſely and vnderhand he ſupplies them both with men, and mony: He animates them of *Genoa* againſt the King, and perſwades them to make ſtay of the ſhippes, that were ready in that port, for the Kings ſeruice in *Naples*. The King is now reſolued vpon his iourney for *Italie*: his preparations are great, and his coming ſpeedy: an expedition, that concerned none more nearely then the Duke himſelfe: The King ſends *Rigault*, the Steward of his houſe, vnto him: lets him know, that now was the time, wherein he might cancell the memory of all former wrongs: if he would reſtore him his gallies detained in *Genoa*, yeeld him the carracks due by the capitulation, and ſuffer them to be armed in that port, for the ſeruice of *Naples*. The Duke conſiders the equitie of the demand: the danger, to haue ſo powerfull an enemy: the ſcate of his Dukedome, which was likelieſt to be firſt expoſed, to ſo great

a warre. Yet, the iealouſie and ſuſpition he had in his guilty conſcience, of truſting one he had wronged ſo much, makes him refuſe to ſatiſfie the King, and to runne other courſes, to his greater perill, and indeed to his finall ruine, as in the ſequel appeareth.

APHORISME XXI.

TWo things are neceſſarie for a merchant: Monie in the purſe, and credit on the burſe: So is nothing more needfull for a Prince, then treaſure and reputation: He that will phyſically compound a right Doſis of theſe two ſimples, muſt, for euery ounce of the former, put in two of the latter. So ſhall he preſerue in health and ſafetie, the bodie of his ſtate. But, he were better to loſe his reputation abroade, then not to hold it at home: For, neither his maturitie of iudgement to vndertake, nor his alacritie of ſpirit to execute, auaile in the perfecting of his intended and reſolued enterpriſe, where he hath not a powerfull maieſtie to command, and his officers an awfull readineſſe to doe as they are commanded.

1 *Gli Stati et le Guerre, ſi gouernono per lo più, con duè Terzi di riputazione, & vn terzo di Robba.* Por. in Guic.

Duo ſunt quæ Principatus comparent, augeant, ſeruent, milites, & pecunia. Dion. l. 42.

Opus ſunt opes, & ſine ijs nihil fiet quod opus. Dem. Olyn. 1

2 *Eumenes fratribus dicere ſolebat: Si me vt rege vſi fueritis, vobis tanquam fratribus gratificabor: ſin autem tanquam fratre, ero vobis vt rex.* Poly. de pot.

Imperij maiſtas, ſalutis tutela eſt. Curt. l. 3.

Acre ea telum ad imperium, quæ multum in bellis adminiſtrandis, imperio militari valet. Cic. pro. L. Mon.

Seueritas regem decet, maieſtatem præſtat, & dignitatem auget. Pet. de reg.

Facultas faciendi quod cuilibet viſum, non poteſt comprimere ingenitam hominibus prauitatem. Ari. pol. l. 5.

Adhibenda eſt ſeueritas reip. cauſa, ſine qua adminiſtrari ciuitas nulla poteſt. Cic. off. 2.

Non enim ita natum eſt, vt pudori obſequatur, ſed vt metui: nec vt abſtineant à prauis ob turpitudinem, ſed ob ſupplicia, & pœnas. Ariſt. pol. 5. Valer. l. 2.

A militibus, imperator potiùs quàm hoſtis, metui debet.

Vehementer pertinet ad bella adminiſtranda, quid hoſtes, magis verò quid ſubditi de ſuis imperatoribus exiſtiment. Cic.

The

The expedition for *Naples*, after much ventilation in counſell, is reſolued. The King is fully bent vpon a perſonall returne into *Italie*. The nobility prepare to attend his maieſtie in the voyage. Carefull order is taken, and ſtraight charge giuen to the officers, for a full and timely prouiſion of all things, neceſſary to ſo long a iorney, and ſo great an action. But the Cardinall *S. Malò*, in whoſe hands was the chiefe ſway of the gouernement, and diſpoſition of all things, being Superintendent of the finances, delaies to disburſe ſuch ſummes of money, as were inſtantly expedient for ſo great preparations. The King is offended at his ſlackneſſe: he, knowing well the Kings ſoft nature, ſatisfies him with faire excuſes, and promiſes, contrary to the effects. So as, when the army ſhould ſet forward, the prouiſions were not ready, nor any thing in ſuch order, as the neceſſity of ſo great an affaire required: to the great preiudice of that ſeruice, and the vtter ruine of thoſe diſtreſſed forces, which were left behinde in the kingdome of *Naples*.

APHORISME XXII.

THe[1] greateſt aſſurance of an armie, is in the prudent gouernement of the Commander. The greateſt weakening thereof, is by diſorder, and want of diſcipline. The greateſt cauſe of diſorder, is want of pay. For pay is the poore ſouldiers Aqua-vitæ.[2] But want is ſuch an Aqua-fortis, as it eates through the iron doores of diſcipline. For the enemies ſword, and forraine force, do not ſo eaſily breake the Squadrons of an armie, and put all to rout, as the ſteely headed weapon of this home-bred mutiner, hunger. That Prince therefore, who would be well ſerued, and obeyed in what he commandeth, muſt take heede, that he ſuffer not a greater power in the campe, then his owne. This powerfull Commander is neceſſitie.

Agath. 1 Γνῶμαι πλέον κρατοῦσιν, ἢ ἄῤῥενος χειρῶν. *Prudentia manuum viribus prepollet.*

Nullum

Nullum Numen abeſt, ſi ſit Prudentia. Iuuen.Sat.10

Non tam magnitudine rerum geſtarum, quàm diſciplina militari nobilitatus eſt. Prob.de Iph.

La Diſciplina è il Neruo della Militia: et diſciplina chiamo l'arte di far buon ſoldato: & buon ſoldato colui, chi ardiſce & obediſce. Rag.Stat.l.9

Πρὸς κέντρα μὴ λακτίζει τοῖς κρατοῦσί σου. *Ne contra ſtimulos tibi imperantium calcitres.* Eurip.

2 *Diſciplinam non poteſt ſeruare ieiunus exercitus.* Theodor.

Nec quies gentium ſine armis, nec arma ſine ſtipendijs, nec ſtipendia ſine tributis, haberi queunt. Tacit.hiſt. 4.

Quibuſdam ob neceſsitatem, maxima peccandi neceſsitudo. Tacit.an.3.

Omnia experiri neceſsitas ſubigit: quippe cum primas ſpes fortuna deſtituit, futura præſentibus videntur eſſe potiora. Curt. l. 7.

——Sors autem vbi peſsima eſt
Sub pedibus timor eſt, ſecuraq; ſumma malorum. Ouid.Me.14

Nullus eſt miſeris pudor. Senec. Oed.

Magiſter artis, ingenijq; largitor venter. Perſ. pr. Sat.

Per difficile eſt ad carentem auribus ventrem verba facere: venter quippe cibi auidus, præcepta non audit. Plut.in Cato

Lyſimachus ſuperatus à Dromichete, ſeipſum totumq; exercitum propter ſitim tradidit: Is poſtquam captiuus bibiſſet, ô Dij, inquit, quàm paruæ voluptatis cauſa meipſum ex rege ſeruum feci! Polyæ. Plut.

The French armie is diſtreſſed in *Abbruzzi*, for want of money: the Commanders can neither ſatisfie the needy ſouldier, nor well agree one with another. The ſouldier is obedient to neither. If they command them vpon any ſeruice, theſe demand their pay, and refuſe the emploiment. If any prey or victuals be gotten, they are vnequally diſtributed. The French and Swiſſe ſhare all, and leaue nothing to the hungry Italians. Theſe leaue the Campe. The Prince of *Biſignano*, with his owne troupes, goes to defend his owne Eſtates. The Dutch are vnpaid for many moneths: and depart to the ſeruice of *Ferdinand*. The neceſſitous armie giues ground daily to the enemy, and retires into the Prouince of *Puglia*. *Ferdinand* followes them at their heeles: cuts off all conuoyes, and ſtops the paſſages. The French are as it were cooped vp in *Attella*: where there is neither victuals for many daies, nor hope of ſuccours appearing.

APHORISME XXIII.

SCilurus [1] *ſhafts, while they were cloſe bound in a bundle, could neither be broken nor bowed: but taken one by one, they were eaſily knapped in ſunder. So fareth it with the forces of an armie, whoſe ſafetie chiefly depends vpon the vnitie and mutuall coniunction of the inferiors with the ſuperiors, and of theſe one with another.* [2] *Wherfore, nothing is more dangerous in the ſeruices of warre or peace, then diſcord and faction among the great ones.*

Plut. Apop. 1 *Scilurus octoginta liberos habens, moriturus faſciculum iaculorum ſingulis porrexit, juſsitq; rumpere. Quod cum non poſſent, ipſe ſingula iacula exemit, atque ita facilè confregit omnia: filios admonens his verbis: ſi concordes eritis, &c.*

Polyæn. l. 1. Ἡ δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁμονοία, μάλιστα δὲ πάντας τοὺς Βαρβάρους ἐνίκησεν. *i. Maximè verò effectum eſt vnanimitate Ducum, vt Barbari victoriam amitterent.*

Dion. l. 52. *Optimum verò inimicitias omnes, & ambitioſa certamina exſcindere, atque adeò nec nomina noua, aut aliud quid ex quo oriri diſcordiæ poſsint, ipſis permittere.*

Senec. Sent. *Ibi ſemper eſt victoria, vbi concordia.*

Saluſt. Iug. *Concordia res paruæ creſcunt, diſcordia magnæ dilabuntur.*

Adag. græc. 2 Πολλοὶ στρατήγοι Καρίαν ἀπώλεσαν. *Multi Imperantes Cariam perdiderunt.*

Am. in Tacit. an. l. 2. *Non è coſa che dia più noia à gli affari grandi, ô ſieno di Pace, ô ſieno di Guerra, quanto le gare de' Capitani.*

Liui. l. 3. *Factiones fuerunt eruntq; pluribus populis magis exitio, quàm bella externa, quàm fames, morbive, quæque alia in Deûm iras velut vltima publicorum malorum vertunt.*

Ariſt. pol. l. 5. *Nobilium factiones trahunt ad ſe, & in partes, vniuerſum populum.*

Curt. *Diſcordia & ſeditio, omnia opportuna inſidiantibus faciunt.*

Virg. Egl.

Impius hæc tam culta noualia miles habebit,
Barbarus has ſegetes? En quò diſcordia cives
Perduxit miſeros?

Bod. rep. l. 4. *Pour l'ambition naturelle des Magiſtrats, la Rep. en ſouffrirá, & luy aduiendrà, ce qu'il fit à la Pucelle, pour laquelle les Pourſuyuans entrerent en telle ialouſie, & paſsion, qu'ils la deſmembrerent en pieces.*

Am. Plut. Gracch. *N'eſt pas poſsible que les Brebis ayent de bon temps, ſi les Bergers s'entrebattent.*

Ferdinand takes Frangete by aſſault. His ſouldiers fall to the ſpoile. The Captaines ſeeing the enemy ſo neare, labour to reordinate their troupes, and bring them backe to their colours.

The

The ſouldiers diſobey, and continue robbing and rifling the towne. *Monpenſier* and *Virginio Orſini*, with all the French forces, are quartered and encamped hard by: they eſpie the aduantage which offred it ſelfe vpon this diſorder of the enemy. They call a Councell of warre, and perſwade the other Commanders, not to ſlip the occaſion, but to ſet vpon the *Arragoneſe* in this confuſion, there being but a narrow valley betweene them: They giue aſſurance (out of well grounded Principles) of a wiſhed and ſucceſſull victory. But *Monſieur de Percé*, a man next to *Monpenſier* in authoritie, out of a yong mans vanitie and humour of oppoſition, or rather (as was credibly thought) out of the enuie he bore to his Generals glory, withſtandeth the direction, diſſwadeth the enterpriſe, and ſecretly perſwadeth the ſouldiers not to fight. With the loſſe of this faire occaſion, fell the French affaires in thoſe parts, into manifeſt declination: Many cauſes concurring thereunto at one and the ſame inſtant: as want of mony, ſcarcitie of victuals, much hatred of the common people, open diſcord among the Captaines, obſtinate diſobedience of the ſouldiers, and almoſt a generall forſaking of the Campe.

APHORISME XXIIII.

THe two famous ſouldiers of Rome and Greece, which ſhot like two thunderbolts into the Weſt and Eaſt, and filled the whole world with the fame of their victories, are renowned for nothing more then their celeritie in doing, and preuenting the verie report of their coming. For, there is nothing ſo excellent in a Chiefe, as preuention: it bleſſeth the action with ſucceſſe, and crowneth the actor with glorie. He therefore that would arriue at the Port of Victorie, and by her gates enter the Tower of Fame, muſt ſaile by this way.

Tam celer in agendo, & conſulta exequendo, vt perſæpe nuntios de ſe, præuenerit. Suet. de Cæſ.

Curt.de Al. Cicer. *Nullam virtutem Regis iſtius magis, quàm celeritatem laudauerim.*

Boni Imperatoris ſigna ſunt hæc: Labor in negotio, fortitudo in periculo, induſtria in agendo, celeritas in conficiendo.

Valer.l.7. *Quod temporis anguſtiæ negant, ſagacitate conſilij eſt aſſecutus.*

Xenoph.l.6. *Sæpenumerò in bello, ea quæ geri debent, celeritate facilius, quàm vi perficiuntur.*

Chalco.l.6. *Celeritas plurimum momenti ad res præclarè gerendas habet: nihilq; magis ducem, quàm celeritatem & indefeſſam curam in agendo, ſectari oportere certum eſt.*

Cæſ. ap.Plut *Veni, vidi, vici.*

Lucan l.1. —— *Rapit agmina Ductor*
Impiger, & torto Balearis verbere fundæ
Ocyor, & miſſa Parthi poſt terga ſagitta.

Lucan.l.2. —— *Cæſar in omnia præceps,*
Nil actum credens, cum quid ſupereſſet agendum,
Inſtat atrox. ——

Ouid.Met.11 *Sed mora damnoſa eſt, nec res dubitare remittit,*
Dum ſupereſt aliquid, cuncti coeamus ad arma.

The Caſtle of *Laino*, ſtands vpon the riuer *Sapri*, which diuides *Calabria* from the *Principato* (another Prouince of the kingdome of *Naples*.) The Borough is on the other ſide of the riuer. The Count of *Meleto*, and *Alberigo San-Seuerino*, with diuers other Barons and forces, equall to thoſe of the Spaniard vnder *Gonſaluo*, are come hither. Their troupes daily increaſe: and their reſolution is, ſo ſoone as thoſe other forces are come which they hourely look for, to giue vpō the Spaniard. *Gonſaluo* is encamped at *Caſtro-Villare*, not farre off. He hath intelligence of their purpoſe: reſolues to preuent them: drawes forth his army a little before night: makes a ſharpe and ſpeedy march ouer the hils: ſends his Foote to the Bridge, betweene the Caſtle and the Borough: paſſeth himſelfe the riuer with all his horſe, ſome two miles higher: comes to the place before day: findes the enemy ſecure, without Sentinell or Guard: ſets vpon him: takes thirteene Barons priſoners: and all the ſouldiers fleeing towards the Bridge, are there by his Foote, either taken or ſlaine.

APHO-

APHORISME XXV.

THings[1] eaſieſt got, are ſooneſt loſt. They are like ſummer fruite, ſoone ripe, ſoone rotten; they cannot laſt out one winter of troubles. For as we obſerue in all Natures, of reaſon, ſenſe, or vegetation, that, the ſooner they come to their growth & perfection, the ſooner they decline to their corruption and diſſolution: So is it naturall in all kingdomes and States, the ſooner they are gotten, the hardlier they are kept, and eaſilier loſt.[2] Wherefore the greater a mans fortune is in the winning, the greater muſt be his care for the ſure eſtabliſhing of what he hath wonne.

1 *Non durat, nec ad vltimum exit, niſi lenta fœlicitas.* Seneca.

Σπεύδων ταχὺ πάντα διελθεῖν, μᾶλλον βραδύνει. *Qui nimiùm properat ſeriùs abſoluit: Monet adagium inſtituendæ rei non tam celeritatem quàm curam adhibendam eſſe, ne poſtea ſit in mora quod in operis ingreſſu fuerit erratum.* Adag. Poly.

Immodicis rebus breuis eſt & rara ſenectus. Cardan.

Ὡς ἐυκόλως πίπτουσιν αἱ λαμπραὶ τύχαι. *O quàm ruina ſplendidæ vitæ cita.* Comic. græc

Auguſtus Cæſar illud ſemper citò factum poſſe dici aiebat, quod cum factum eſſet, benè haberet: tarditatem enim quæ tuta eſſet, celeritati cui periculum eſſet coniunctium, anteponebat. Fulgoſ. l. 7.

2 *Multi dum inferre pericula volunt, non cauent.* Sen. de ira.

Princeps habere debet ad ſua conſeruanda, & aliena obtinenda, idonearum rerum facultatem. Cic. de Inue. l. 2.

—— Quôque fortuna altiùs
Euexit atque leuauit humanas opes,
Hôc ſe magis ſupprimere fœlicem decet. Sen. Troa.

The French is ſtraightly begirt in the towne of *Attella*, by the vnited forces of *Ferdinand*, *Gonſaluo*, and the Venetians. They are in want, and deſperate of ſuccours. They capitulate, and yeeld the place, with all the Artillery, and other townes that *Monpenſier* held in the kingdome. All the other fortreſſes (almoſt) which were conſigned to the keeping of others, and of whoſe faith and loialtie the King himſelfe had the Counterpanes, follow the example of *Attella*. This generall ſurrender was accompanied with a generall mortality, for of fiue thouſand naturall French that were in the army, there were ſcarce fiue hun-

dred, that liued to returne into *France*. Thus is *Ferdinand* as easily and as soone repossessed of his State, as *Charles* 8. was inuested with it.

APHORISME XXVI.

ACtions[1] *once resolued, like fixed starres, should hold one and the same station of firmenesse, they should not be subiect to irregular and retrograde motions. For, the vacillation and irresolution of a Prince, whose thoughts are whirled about the voluble Sphære of seuerall perswasions, and neuer fixed in one Center of resolued constancy, turnes to his dishonour, and preiudice of the affaire in hand.*[2] *He must therefore not resolue, or go through with his resolution.*

Lip.pol. 4. 1 *Turpis & fœda est illa vacillatio sententiam mutantium, & certum signum non certæ mentis: ideóque vilescit semper, qui vacillat.*

Tac.hist. l.3. *Fœdaq́, inconstantia, quæ iusserat, vetat: quæ vetuerat, iubet.*

Sal. de Cic. *Aliud stans aliud sedens de repub. sentis.*

Salust. *Sunt qui ex aliena libidine huc illuc fluctuantes, agantur: interdum alia, deinde alia decernunt: vt eorum qui dominantur simultas atque arrogantia fert, ita bonum malumve publicum existimant.*

Tacit. an. 13. *Ad honesta ceu praua, iuxtà leui haud fidendum.*

Tacit. de Fab Valente. *Ipse inutili cunctatione, agendi tempora consultando consumpsit: mox vtrumq; consilium aspernatus, quod inter ancipitia deterrimum est, dum media sequitur, nec ausus est satis, nec prouidet.*

Claud. pan. 2 2 *——Facit constantia futile ne quid*
Infirmumque geras.——

Hor. 4. od. 9. *——Esto animus tibi*
Rerumque prudens, & secundis
Temporibus dubijsq́, rebus.

Tacit. hist. 2. *Otho humillimo cuique credulus, bonos metuens, rebus prosperis incertus. Vitellius mobilitate ingenij, quod palàm abnuerat, inter secreta conuiuij largitur. At in Vespasiano nihil tumidum, arrogans, aut in rebus nouis nouum fuit.*

Charles 8. is as farre as *Lyons*, resolued vpon a personall and present voyage for *Italie*: yet he returnes to *Paris*, with purpose to stay but one moneth, and then set forward. Here, some dis-

swade

ſwade the iourney, becauſe the benefit of the victory of *Millan* ſhould not redound to him, but to the Duke of *Orleans*, to whom of right it belonged. Others aduiſe him not to go, vntill he had ended all his differences with *Spaine*. Others counſaile him not to depart *France*, till he had left an heire apparant of his owne body, to ſo great a State, the Queene his wife being now with child. On the other ſide, his diſtreſſed troupes in the kingdome of *Naples*, the exiled Italians, his friendes the Florentines, and the greater and better part of his Nobles, mooue, intreate, importune, and vrge his going. He ſtaies foure monethes in this irreſolution whether to go or ſtay, ſometimes carried one way, ſometimes another: meane while he loſeth all that he held in *Naples*, and ſo the true end of this iourney (by procraſtination and inconſtancy,) is vtterly ouerthrowne.

APHORISME XXVII.

WEake appetites are drawne to take vnpleaſing meates, by the ſauourie reliſh which the cunning hand of the Cooke giueth them: So the Politician draweth on his confederates to actions vnpleaſing, by ſeaſoning them with the ſweet ſauce of profit, and gaine For States are without naturall affections, they contract not amitie as priuate men, by a ſympathie of will, and a ſimilitude of manners; it is particular aduantage, that knittes them together.

Cum vtilitas ad ſe rapere, honeſtas contrà reuocare ad ſe videtur, fit vt diſtrahatur deliberando animus, afferatque ancipitem cogitandi curam. Cic. offic. 2.

Turpe quidem dictu, ſed ſi modò vera fatemur,
Vulgus amicitias vtilitate probat. Oui. Pon. 2.

Pecuniæ imperij q́, libido ſunt quaſi materies omnium malorum. Saluſt. Cat.

Si come alcuni cibi inſipidi, riceuono ſapore dalla concia che da loro il Cuoco: così i Prencipi, eſſendo da ſe ſenza affezione, inclinano à queſta, ô a quella parte, ſecondo che l'intereſſe acconcia l'animo & affetto loro. Rag. ſtat. l. 4.

I Prencipi ſono di natura così fatta, che non hanno niſſuno per amico, ne per inimico aſſolutamente: ma nelle amicizie & inimicizie ſi gouernano, ſecondo che lor' torna commodo. Bot. e Poly.

Communis

Liui. l. 26. Plaut. Stich.

Communis vtilitas, ſocietatis maximum vinculum eſt.
Res animos inuenit.

Maximilian the Emperor comes with his forces into *Italy*, at the ſollicitation of *Zforza* and the Venetians, to oppoſe with them againſt the French, of whoſe great preparations they were all affraid: they couenant to giue him thirty thouſand Duckats a moneth for three moneths together. The newes of the Frenches coming growes cold: the Venetians refuſe to contribute their part: *Zforza* paies all: and perſwades the Emperor, with a diſcourſe full of fraud and duplicity, to vndertake the cauſe of *Piſa*, and to arbitrate betweene it and *Florence*. hoping if the towne were once put in *Depoſito*, into Cæſars hands, that he ſhould get it of him for money: A prey which he had long thirſted after. The Venetians are willing hereunto, though they ſmoaked the drift of *Zforza* (which they preſumed they could eaſily preuent) becauſe they hoped by Cæſars going thither, that the Piſans might get the port of *Ligorne*, and then were the Florentines vtterly depriued of all hope, euer to recouer that citie, and themſelues in a faire way to obtaine their purpoſe. The Emperor findes himſelfe needy of money: thinkes *Piſa* a fit inſtrument to draw in round ſummes, of one of theſe parties, or elſe of the Florentines, he cared not whether ſo his turne were ſerued, and therefore embraceth the action. Yet all theſe made their pretence, that it was for the publicke good of *Italie*, to ſuppreſſe the Florentines, and to force them quit their combination with *France*, the common enemy.

APHORISME XXVIII.

THe weapon of a Generall, is his truncheon; of a ſouldier, his ſword: he, onely to command: this, onely to execute: for, in this is the danger but of one mans life, but in that, the hazard of all. That Commander whom his companion thought to out-braue, becauſe hee had receiued moe wounds in the warres: And I (quoth

(quoth he) hold this the greatest imputation which euer fell iustly vpon me, that in the siege of Samos I approched so neare to view the fortification, as my life was in danger by a shot from the wall.[2] *Wherefore a Commander in chiefe should alwaies stand couered vnder the seuen-fold shield of Aiax: and neuer expose his person to apparent perill, but in case of a generall ouerthrow, and manifest deffaite.*

1 *In milite vnius sors est, in Imperatore vniuersorum periculum.* Egesip.
Vnus homo pluris fuit, quàm vniuersa ciuitas. Prob. de Ep.
Ἐμὲ δὲ αὐτὸν παρόντα, πρὸς πόσας ἀντιτάξεις. *Me verò (Ducem tuum) pro quantis (Nauibus) æstimas.* Demet. Plut
2 *Dubijs præliorum exemptus, summæ rerum & Imperij seipsum reseruat.* Tacit.l.11.
Stetit sub Aiacis clipeo septemplice tectus. Hom. Ody.9
Non è cosa più indegna d' vn'accorto Prencipe, che'l commetterſi alla discrezione della fortuna. Rag.Stat.2.
Ordinatio exercitus instar humani corporis: Pectus Phalangem, manum leuis armaturæ milites, pedes Equitatum, caput Ducem æstima. Reliquorum si quid desit, mancus exercitus: si deficiat Dux, totus inutilis. Polyæn.l.3.
Si status imperij, aut salus Prouinciarum, in discrimine vertatur, debebit in acie stare Princeps. Tac.hist.4.
Neutiquam mihi placet, quando nulla cogat res, committere se fortunæ. Liui.l.7.
Rege incolumi mens omnibus vna est: Virg. geor.4
Amisso rupêre fidem.——
Κορυθαίολος Ἕκτωρ. *Galea ornatus, vel munitus Hector.* Hom.od.9.
Clearchus Cyro dedit consilium, ne ipse se in periculum offerret, sed inspectorem se pugnæ gereret. Pugnantem enim corpore nil magnum efficere: Si verò quid damni acceperit, omnes se perditurum quos secum haberet. Poly.stra.l.2
——*Ah non sia vero*
Ch' in vn Capo s'arrischi il Campo tutto:
Duce sei tu, non semplice Guerriero,
Publico fora & non priuato il lutto:
Tu il Senno sol, il Sceptro solo adopra,
Ponga altri poi l'ardire, e'l ferro in opra. Tasso. cant.7

The Pisans fortifie their townes, on those higher grounds, whence they had corne and prouisions, aud which stopped the Florentines free trafficke to *Ligorne*. The Florentines, to remoue two so great inconueniences, send thither their army, vnder the commaund of *Peter Capponi* their worthy Generall, to force them of *Pisa* from those places, and to make the passage open. He besiegeth *Soiana:* encampeth vpon the riuer *Casina:*

where, while himſelfe is buſie in perſon, and in place of danger, about planting his artillery for battery, he is ſhot with an Arquebuſe from the towne, and ſlaine in the place. Hereupon the Campe riſeth, without attempting any farther, and leaues a ſeruice of ſo great conſequence vneffected.

APHORISME XXIX.

THe [1] nature of deepe Diſsimulation, is to hide it ſelfe vnder certaine veiles and filmes, like the Optick vertue in the eie, that it may ſee all things and not be ſeene it ſelfe: but the moſt frequent and ſafeſt couuert (though the moſt diſhoneſt) vnder which it lies tapiſſed and harboured, is fained friendſhip. [2] The wiſeſt and readieſt way to vnkennell this Foxe, and vn-earth him out of this den of fained Proteſtation, is by a falſe fire of fained Credulitie.

Cic.ad frat. 1 *Multis Simulationum inuolucris tegitur, & quaſi velis quibuſdam obtenditur vniuſcuiuſque natura: Frons, oculi, vultus, perſæpe mentiuntur, oratio verò quàm ſæpiſsimè.*

Verinus. *Qui citò crediderit falletur ſæpe, leuiſq;*
Eſt cordis.——

Sen. Hippol. *O vita fallax, abditos ſenſus geris.*

Cic.ad Lent *Fronte & vultu Simulatio facillimè ſuſtinetur.*

Cic.offic. *Totius iniuſtitiæ nulla capitalior, quàm eorum, qui cum maximè fallunt, id agunt vtì boni viri videantur.*

Senar.Pro. 2 *Fiſo res perijt, diffiſo ſalua remanſit.*

Terent.An. *Fallacia alia aliam trudit.*

Ouid. *Fallite fallentes, ex magna parte profanum*
Sunt genus: In laqueos quos poſuère cadant.

Lip.pol.l.4. *Nil magis hic cauendum, quàm ne diffidere videaris.*

Ariſtoph. *Non perſuadebis, neſi perſuaſeris quidem.*

The Emperour meanes to chaffer for *Piſa*, and make his beſt market of her. He ſends two Embaſſadours to *Florence*: pretends a voyage againſt the Infidels: holds it fit before he go, to leaue *Italie* in quiet and perfect peace: perſwades them to referre the cauſe of *Piſa* into his hands: promiſeth to do iuſtice: requires

in

in the *interim*, a ceſſation of armes on both ſides. The Duke of *Millan* failed not likewiſe on his part to aduiſe them hereunto; vnder colour of being carefull for their good, and iealous of the Venetians: he propounds many feares and dangers, if they condeſcend not to *Cæſars* arbitration: proteſts there is no other way to wring out the Venetians, & redintegrate themſelues into the poſſeſſion of *Piſa*: a thing moſt neceſſary for the quiet of *Italie*, and much deſired of the other confederates. But the Florentines (well acquainted with *Zforzaes* practiſes, and rightly conceiuing the Emperours drift) returne this anſwer: How much they extoll the glory of his intended voyage: how much they admire the Chriſtian reſolution in his imperiall Maieſtie, to make warre vpon the ſworne enemies of Chriſtian Religion: how willing they are to condeſcend to the Comprimiſe: and how much they affie in his goodneſſe and iuſtice: promiſing to ſend him ſhortly Embaſſadours of their owne, with more particular inſtructions, and full declaration of their purpoſe. Meane while, they gather together all their ſouldiers: re-enforce their broken and decayed companies: fortifie *Ligorne*: ſtore it with victuals, munition, and men, and make good that place, againſt a ſtrong and ſtraight ſiege of the confederates, which vnder the commaund of the Emperour was ſhortly laid againſt it: and whence he was forced to make a ſhamefull retreit into *Lombardie*, without doing any act in this his expedition againſt the State of *Florence*, and Port of *Ligorne*, anſwerable to the great charge and expectation of ſuch a ſeruice, or worthy the name of *Cæſar*.

APHORISME XXX.

Where [1] *the Embaſſadour hath Charge without limitation, he may negotiate in the buſineſſe according to diſcretion, and as he ſees occurrence of circumſtances and occaſions offered.* [2] *But when it is in preſcript and expreſſe tearmes limited, he muſt*

imitate the Camel, who neuer will carrie any more weight then what at first was laid vpon him; nor go one foote beyond his ordinarie iourney: No more must the Embassadour exceed one iot of his commission, but tie himselfe to the strict words of his instructions.

Am.in Tac. an.2. 1 *Tiberio mandaua Druso suo figliuolo, co' Principali della Città, & con due companie de' soldati della sua Guardia, alle Legioni abbotinati in Germania: Il che fece, senza dargli commessione limitata: Ma con ordine, di prendere sul fatto, quel partito che gli paresse megliore.*

Pasch. Leg. *Sunt mandata quædam αὐτοκράτορα, & Legati quibus dantur tam libera mandata dicuntur αὐτοκράτορες: quorum mandatis continetur nihil aliud, quàm vt Legatus vtì facto opus erit, ita agat.*

Plin.l.8.c.18 2 *Sua cuique mensura sicuti vires: nec vltra assuetum procedit spacium, nec plus instituto onere recipit.*

Alex.de Ale. *Legati munus est, omnia ad præscriptum imperiumq; Consulis agere.*

Pasch. Leg. *Quod militi arma & gubernatori clauus, hoc sunt Legato mandata. Mandatum est anima Legationis.*

Plat rep.l.4 *Legatus aut Præco, si denunciando aut renunciando falsam legationem obierit: impiè se gesserit, & contra hunc actiones instituantur.*

Liui.l.5. *Mitis Legatio, ni præferoces Legatos, Gallisq; magis quàm Romanis, similes habuisset.*

The Florentines send their Embassadour to *Cæsar*: they finde him at *Genoa*: they refuse to referre the cause of *Pisa* to his arbitration, vnlesse they be first possessed of the towne: this done, they offer willingly to declare and iustifie their right before his Maiestie. He giues them no answer, till he came to *Molo*: here, he sends them backe to the Popes Legat at *Genoa*, to whom he referred them for knowing his pleasure. The Legat putteth them ouer to the Duke of *Millan*: hither they come: they require audience. Solemne preparation is made for the hearing. The Embassadours for the confederates, and all the Dukes Councel, are assembled, out of a pride he had to shew his eloquence, and pleasure he tooke in the aduersitie of others. In this very instant the Florentine Embassadours receiue direction from their State to returne without seeking any further answer. They come into the Assembly: tell the Duke they haue no other commission, but to visit him as a friend to their State, do him honor, and take their leaue. The Duke frustrate of his expectation, demands what

answer

anſwer they had from *Cæſar*: They replie, that by the lawes of their common-wealth, they might not communicate their buſineſſe, but with thoſe Princes onely, to whom they were addreſſed. If we (quoth the Duke) ſhall giue you your anſwer, for which you know that *Cæſar* hath ſent you vnto vs, will you not heare it? We are not forbidden to heare it (ſay they) nor can we forbid your Highneſſe to ſpeake. We are content to giue it you (replies the Duke) but you muſt firſt deliuer as much to vs, as you did to *Cæſar*. That we cannot (ſay they) for the cauſes before alledged, and beſides it is ſuperfluous: for if *Cæſar* haue giuen you commiſſion to diſpatch vs, he hath alſo giuen you aduertiſement of our propoſitions. The Duke in a rage breaketh vp the aſſemblie: diſmiſſeth them, with charge to depart preſently his countrie: and ſo receiues part of the ſcorne, which he had thought to haue put vpon others.

APHORISME XXXI.

NO[1] cauſes are warrantable for the vndertaking of a warre, if Iuſtice *be not one of the* Quorum.[2] *For the Iuſtice of the action, is the Cape of good hope, by which men ſaile to the aſſured Harbour of ſafety, and fortunate Ilands of victory, and glory.*[3] *Wherefore of all encouragements to men of warre, none ought to be more forcible, then the equitie of the cauſe: Becauſe, iuſt actions, beſides the ordinary indeauour and helpe of man, are often aduanced by fauour of the heauens.*

1 *Ex omni occaſione quærunt triumphum.* Plin. paneg.
Ab illis maximum diſcrimen eſt, penes quos aurum & opes Tacit. an. l. 4.
præcipuæ ſunt bellorum cauſæ.
Ad Superos Aſtræa receſſit. Iuue. Sat. 10.

2 *Fugies iſta Princeps: nec vnquam bello te implicabis, niſi iuſto: iuſtum autem eſt, quod tria hæc habet iuſta, authorem, cauſam, finem.* Lip. pol. l. 5.
Cauſa velut Caput bonæ ſpei eſt, quod te ducit ad triumphales illas terras. Id. Ibid.
Iuſtum bellum quibus neceſſarium, & pia arma quibus nulla niſi in armis relinquitur ſpes. Liui. l. 9.

Thucid.l.1. *In cum qui iure agere, & ſatisfacere paratus eſt, nefas bellum ſumere, tanquam in iniurium.*

Iuſtin.l.25. *Multò honeſtiùs tunc bella gerebantur, quàm nunc amicitiæ coluntur.*

Liui.l.2. *Vera victoria eſt, quæ ſalua fit, & integra pietate paratur.*

Saluſt.fug. *Bono vinci ſatius eſt, quàm malo more iniuriam facere.*

Liui.l.21. 3 *Euentus belli velut æquus iudex, vnde ius ſtabat, ei victoriam dabat.*

Incert. Au. Erip. Δίκαια δρῶντας συμμάχει, πεύξη θεὸς. *Iuſta faciens pugna, & opem feret deus.*
Οὐδεὶς στρατεύσας ἄδικα, σῶς ἦλθεν πάλιν.
Omnia ſumma ratione geſta, etiam fortuna ſequitur.

Liui.l.4. *Cauſa iubet Superos melior ſperare ſecundos.*

Lucan.l.17. *Frangit & attollit vires in milite cauſa,*

Prop.ele.4. *Quæ niſi iuſta ſubeſt, excutit arma pudor.*

Ligorne is ſtraightly beſieged by the Emperor, both by Sea and Land. It is brauely defended by the Garriſon. A ſtrong wind ariſeth, which forceth his fleete to put out to ſea, for feare of running on ground, and ſplitting vpon the ſhoare. The ſame gale blowing faire for the French nauy, coming from *Prouence* towards the reliefe of *Gaetta*, puts into this port of *Ligorne*, and brings the beſieged happie ſupplies of what was wanting. Not long after, ariſeth another tempeſt, worſe then the former, which ſplitteth the *Grimalda*, a great ſhippe of *Genoa*, with the loſſe of all the men and Artillery in her. The like deſaſter happened to two Venetian gallies, vpon *S. Iacobs* point: and the reſt of that Armada, was ſo ſore ſhaken in other places, as they were no longer fit for the ſeruice, but forced to raiſe the ſiege.

APHORISME XXXII.

One eſpeciall care of a Captaine and among the firſt, for ſucceſſe in the action, is, to looke well to the armes, and armour, of the ſouldier: For, theſe often preuaile, both againſt the number, and valor, of the enemy. Wherefore, if Seconds in ſimple fight be very circumſpect, that there be no oddes in the combattants weapons, whom they put together vpon all equall and indifferent tearmes: Much more is a Leader to beware, that the enemy haue not this

aduantage

aduantage vpon him. Becauſe, in ſingle fight, the dexteritie and skill of one of the parties in vſing his weapon, or his agilitie and nimbleneſſe of body, or his alacrity and viuacity of ſpirit, may preuaile against this oddes: But in a battaile, where the fight is in a firme ſtation, and a greater deſire of offending and killing others, then of defending and ſauing themſelues, oddes of the weapom is much more aduantageous.

Horridus miles eſſe debet, non cælatus auro argentóque ſed ferro & animo. Tacit. hiſt. 1.

Ad victoriam plurimùm refert, vt lectiſſimos de peditibus & equitibus (benè armatos) & poſt aciem in ſubſidium præparatos habeas. Veget. l. 3. c. 17.

Cùm tuas vires atque arma, tum vim fortunæ, martemq; belli communem propone animo. Liui. l. 6.

Dum vigilans, ſobrius, prudens, tanquam de ciuili cauſa inter partes iudicaturus, adhibito conſilio, de ſuis & aduerſarij copijs iudicet: Et, ſi multis rebus ſuperior inuenitur, opportunum ſibi non deferat conflictum. Veg. l. 3. c. 9.

Enſis habet vires, & gens quæcunque virorum eſt,
Bella gerit gladijs: Sed Medos prælia prima
Exarmant, vacuæq; iubent remeare Pharetræ. Lucan. l. 8.

Pope *Alexander* 6. is deſirous to aduance his children to temporall promotions, though by the ruine of others. He ſees *Virginio Orſini*, and the chiefe heads of that family in priſon at *Naples*. He takes the aduantage of the time, and denounceth them rebels in open Conſiſtory: he confiſcates their landes to the Church (whereof they held in chiefe) becauſe they had ſerued the French King in his warres of *Naples*: and yet he himſelfe was the firſt (next *Zforza*,) that had called him thither. He commands the *Colonneſi* to aſſaile them on the one ſide, and ſends his owne forces vnder the leading of the Duke of *Candy*, and the Cardinall of *Luna*, to warre vpon them on the other. The Venetians likewiſe conſent that the Duke of *Vrbine*, vnder their pay, ſhould go to this ſeruice: and *Frederick* ſendes him *Fabritio Colonna* from *Naples*. Many townes, and peeces of ſtrength, are taken from the *Orſini*: their chiefe caſtle of *Bracciano* is beſieged: *Bartholomeo d'Aluiano* defends it brauely: *Charles Orſini and Vitellozzo*, muſter their forces, ioyne, and come to the ſuccours. The Eccleſiaſtickes, fearing by their coming to be hemmed in, betweene them and the caſtle; riſe, and go to meete them at *Soriano*.

no. A hote fight is maintained on both ſides many howres: in the end the Popes forces are ouerthrowne, by an aduantage the enemy had of the weapon: for, *Vitellozzo* had prouided his ſouldiers of pikes, two foote longer then ordinary.

APHORISME XXXIII.

PRooue [1] *a man vnthankfull, and diſprooue all his other actions: taint him iuſtly of this, and twit him worthily with all that naught is: For there is no obligation to tie a man to honeſty and faithfull performance (next that of oath) ſo ſtrong, as this of gratitude.* [2] *And therefore, there can be no ſuch maculation to the honour of a Prince, as to abandon men of great worth and ſmall meanes, who haue engaged their liues, and are taken priſoners in his ſeruice: giuing them ouer to perpetuall impriſonment, or to pay their owne ranſome.*

Plaut. Moſt. 1 *Benè igitur ratio accepti atque expenſi inter nos conuenit,*
Tu me amas, ego te amo, meritò id fieri exiſtimat:
Hæc qui gaudent, gaudeant perpetuo ſuo ſemper bono.

Petronius. *Cum fortuna manet, vultum ſeruatis amici:*
Cum cecidit, turpi vertitis ora fuga.

Cic. off. 2. *Fœdum, id quidem eſt amicos deſerere.*

Cic. ad At. 8. *Ingratitudine nihil mali non ineſt.*

Auſon. epig. *Ingrato homine, terra peius nil procreat.*

Lip. l. 5. Liui. l. 4. 2 *Ad robur & virtutem militum, valdè poſſunt præmia.*
Præmia decreta ijs qui in Olympijs aut Nemeis viciſſent, Socrates contraxit: eáque maiora decreuit ijs qui in bello pro patria fortiter dimicaſſent.

Lip. pol. l. 5. *Romani (hic) mirifici, qui non ſolùm altiores ordines aſsignabant à virtute: ſed etiam publicè laudes cumulabant & honores, donabantque pro concione Haſtas, Phaleras, Coronas.*

Ex Stobæo. *Quemadmodum igitur conuenit, homines dignos communem fructum percipere, ex ciuilis Status proſperitate: Ita, vbi potentes pro tenuioris fortunæ hominibus facere ſumptum non ſuſtinent, ibi miſericordiæ nullus locus in ciuitate relinquitur.*

Plin. panæg. *Eadem ſub bono Principe virtutis præmia, quæ in libertate: nec tantùm benefactis ex conſcientia merces, ſed etiam præmia ſunt.*

All

All differences are compounded betweene the Pope and the *Orſini*, by mediation of the Spaniſh and Venetian Embaſſadours. The *Orſini* are permitted to ſerue out their time vnder the French king: they are to pay thirtie thouſand Duckats to the Pope, vpon the deliuery of *Iohn-Iordano* and *Paul Orſini* out of the priſon of *Naples*, (for *Virginio* is already dead:) and thirtie thouſand more within eight moneths after. They giue the townes of *Anguillara* and *Ceuetri*, for caution: depoſitate in the hands of Cardinall *Aſcanio* and *San-Seuerino*, till paiment be made. The priſoners taken at the late battell of *Soriano*, are all to be ſet at libertie, on both ſides: ſaue onely the Duke of *Vrbin*; whom the Pope very vngratefully and ignobly abandoned, and compriſed not in the articles (though he were taken in his ſeruice) becauſe he knew the *Orſini* had no eaſie meanes to pay him the foreſaid ſumme, but by his ranſome. The poore Duke is forced to compound for himſelfe, at fortie thouſand Duckats, and the exchange of *Paul Vitelli*, who was taken priſoner by the Marquis of *Mantoa*, at the taking in of *Atella*.

APHORISME XXXIIII.

FRendſhip[1] once broken is hardly peeced.[2] And peeced Enmity neuer ſurely ſodred: Reconcilement among ſuch is like that ſupple ointment which onely eaſeth the preſent ſmart, and skins the ſore, but ſearcheth not at the roote, to eate out the ranke fleſh, and draw out the maligne humour. It is therefore impoßible to cure this exulcerate wound, and eſtabliſh a ſound and ſincere friendſhip betweene them: becauſe the old rancour of malice is neuer well purged from the dregs of diffidence, and deſire of reuenge. But the greateſt diſeaſe of diſtruſt and moſt incurable, is in him who hath wronged his Prince, whoſe guiltie conſcience feeds euer on fearefull diſtruſt, though no iuſt occaſion at all be giuen.

1 *Vt Cryſtalli fragmenta ſarciri nullo modo poſſunt: ita difficillimum eos reconciliare, qui ex arctiſſima familiaritate in mutuum odium venerint.* Plutar.

Plin. *Vt Adamas si frangi contingat, in minutissima dissilit: ita arctissima necessitudo, si quando contingat dirimi, in maximam vertitur simultatem.*

Por.in Guic. 2 *Nelle antiche & graui inimicitie, è difficile stabilire vna fidele riconciliazione.*

Virg. —*Manet alta mente repostum,*
Iudicium Paridis, spretæq; iniuria formæ.

Cic.ad frat. *Paucis credendum, nec nisi ijs, quorum longo vsu cognita tibi fides.*

Tacit.hist.2. *In victores victosq; nunquam solida fides coalescit.*

Sen.Moral. *Dissensio ab alijs, à te reconciliatio incipiat: cùm ignoscis, ita beneficium tuum tempera, vt non ignoscere videaris sed absoluere: quia grauissimum pœnæ genus est contumeliosa venia.*

Am.Plu.Φoc Pro.Ital. *Il ne faut pas trop s'acointer d'vn puissant voisin, & ennemi reconcilié.*
Chi offende, non perdona.

Dion.l.45. *Qui post vehementes inimicitias in gratiam redeunt, multa leuiuscula ac temerè accidentia, in suspicionem rapiunt: atque in vniuersum omnia tanquam consultò, & in malam partem facta, ad conceptum antè odium apponunt.*

The Princes of *Bisignano* and *Salerno*, had bene long of the Aniowine faction, against the King of *Naples*. They are now turned *Arragoneſe*, and in grace and fauour with *Frederick* the new King. *Bisignano* one euening walking forth of the Court, is set vpon by a Greeke, and sore wounded. *Salerno* suspecting this a plot of the Kings, in reuenge of old wrongs, forsakes the Court, and flees to his owne citie. The King cleares himselfe of the fact: protesteth his sincere loue and affection to him and his kinsman: and sends the Greeke to him, to be examined, and punished at his pleasure. The Greeke auowes the originall cause of the attempt, to come from himselfe alone, without any setters on, in reuenge of a wrong done him by the Prince; who some few yeares before had dishonoured him, by hauing carnall vse of his wife. This notwithstanding, the Prince could neuer after be brought to trust the King, nor perswaded to a second reconciliation.

APHO-

APHORISME XXXV.

THE[1] rigour of the old Romanes, to punish the transgression of a commandement in warre, though the good successe approoue it, is not so strictly to be forced: because in actions of this nature, we often meete with those aduantages by accident, which Reason and Iudgement could not possibly fore-think of, much lesse direct. For, things giue better counsell to men, then men to the things.[2] But he that hath once transgressed the limits of his commission, and thereby hath faire occasion offered, to make an honourable amends, and in ample sort to iustifie his first transgression, and wipe out the forfeit; that man makes a double fault, not to take it.

1 *T. Manlius, filio è prælio prosperè gesto, redeunti: Quandoquidem aduersus edictum nostrum extra ordinem cum hoste pugnasti, &c. I lictor, deliga ad Palum.* Liui. l. 8.

Manliana imperia, non in præsentia modò horrenda, sed exempli etiam tristis in posterum. Id. ibid.

Summum ius summa iniuria. Dictum de rigidis & austeris: nam tum maximè discedit ab æquitate, quum maximè superstitiosè hæretur in legum literis. Adag. Poly.

2 *Res dant Consilia hominibus, non homines rebus. Itaque aptare te ijs rebus debes, præsertim in bello.* Lip. pol. l. 5.

Surculum defringere. Dictum de ijs qui non callent totam disciplinam militarem, sed ex ea paululum quod ad præsens faciat decerpunt. Cicero.

Statum nutantium rerum, recto consilio in bonam partem accepto, aliquoties diuina remedia reparauit. Am. Marcel. lib. 26.

Qui opportunæ occasionis momentum neglexerit, neque statim rei benè gerendæ occasionem arripuerit, frustra deinde præterlapsam occasionem reuocabit. Agath. l. 4.

Hanc rebus nouis inesse oportet constantiam, vt rapienda sint consilia, non quærenda. Capi. in Max

Turpissima est iactura, quæ fit per negligentiam. Senec. epist.

Triultio is sent Lieutenant-generall into *Italie*, with expresse charge to aide *Battestino Fregoso* late Duke of *Genoa*, and the Cardinall of S. *Peter* in *Vincola*, to rimpatriate them and their adherents, exiles, and to assure his master *Charles* the 8. of that cities deuotion and obedience. His commission stretcheth no further. Direction is giuen, that *Paul-Battista Fregoso* with

ſixe gallies, ſhould make his attempt vpon the VVeſt coaſt: and the King ſends to *Florence*, to mooue that State to ſet vpon the Lieutenant, and Prouince of *Lunigiana*. The ice thus broken, and way thus made, it is reſolued and ordered, that the Duke of *Orleans* ſhall follow preſently after with a puiſſant armie, to warre vpon the State of *Millan* in his owne right. *Triultio* and *Batteſtino* take in the towne of *Noui*, and other peeces thereabouts, vniuſtly detained from the Genoweſe, and vſurped by *Zforza*. *Vincola* forceth *Ventimiglia*, and carries it: approacheth *Sauona*, findes no commotion in the towne for his part, as he expected; and in deſpaire of preuailing, retires. To which ſeruice, if after the taking in of *Noui*, *Triultio* had addreſſed his forces (as by his commiſſion he ought) it was very probable they had had a wiſhed ſucceſſe. But he deſires to kindle the warres in the Duchie of *Millan*, (whereof he was a proſcript) enreth into that State, beſiegeth *Boſco*, takes it, and brings vnder contribution a great part of the Duchie. By the taking in of this Caſtle, the whole State is in manifeſt brandle and ſolleuation: ſome through feare, others through deſire of innouation. The Duke himſelfe is appalled, and implores the mediation of his vnkle of *Ferrara*, to the French king, in his behalfe. His Generall *Gaiazzo*, with his forces in *Alexandria*, diſtruſts his owne ſtrength, and is readie to giue way. So deepe an impreſſion of feare and amazement was ſtrooke into the whole State, by the reputation of this one action. But *Triultio* thinking to mend his firſt error, committeth indeed a greater: he marcheth no farther: lets ſlippe this faire occaſion: and ſets downe with his armie betweene *Noui* aud *Boſco*. Whereby the Duke hath time to ſettle his countrie in quiet: re-enforce his companies: and call in the aide of the Venetians.

APHO-

APHORISME XXXVI.

NAture yeeldeth for mans vſe, the Bud, the Flower, and the Fruite: But if he will haue the flower for his pleaſure, he may not nip off the bud: and if he will enioy the fruite, for his vſe, he may not raſh off the flower. So in a mans actions, he muſt ſuffer euery precedent cauſe to ripen, and haue his ſeaſon, if he will reape the fruite of a wiſhed effect.[2] It is therefore a well-grounded deliberation in States, not to ſnatch greedily at the flower of a faire offer, except it certainely bring with it the ſweete fruit of profit: Nor to enter into a warre, though for a iuſt reuenge, and lawfull recouery of their owne, except there appeare pregnant and demonſtratiue aſſurances, of the good ſucceſſe.

1 *Non ſi deue prender partito nuouo, oue non ſi megliori il vecchio: come vediamo, che la Natura non laſcia perire il fiore, ſi non per il frutto.* Bot. de Neu.

2 *Qui in arduis verſantur negotijs, periculi meminiſſe debent.* Eraſ.

Ne mihi periclitationes laudetis: nam ego, neque nautam amo, nimis audacem, neque continentis præſidem. Euripid.

Leuius fit patientia-quidquid corrigere eſt nefas. Hor. 1. od. 28

Magnum malum eſt non poſſe ferre malum. Bion. Laert.

Amo cautè deſcendentes in pericula. Ariſt.

Mora proficua. Caſſi. ep. l. 1

Multa, ne bellare neceſſe ſit, homines voluntate remittunt: quæ bello & armis cogi non poſſunt. Liui. 35.

Sis ſine cupiditate, ſine impotentia, quietus ſecretuſque: Nam id beatius quàm ſuas alienaſq; fortunas, Spe metuq; verſare. Tacit. de Mor. Germ.

Quis furor eſt atram bellis accerſere mortem? Tib. l. 1. c. 10.

C'eſt choſe dangereuſe, s'aheurter à ce, dont on voit, qu'il ſera preſque impoſsible de venir au bout. Am in Plut. Gracch.

Florence is deepely engaged in the warre of *Piſa*: wherein ſhe hath found ſtrong oppoſition, from all the States of *Italy*, but eſpecially from that of *Genoa*: The time is now come, to take the reuenge; the meanes thus: The French King hath vnder-taken the cauſe of the exiled Genoweſes, and earneſtly ſollicites *Florence*, to ioyne with him in the enterpriſe: ſhe is glad ſo

bad a neighbour, ſhall haue ſo powerfull an enemy vpon her backe: but ſhe holds it no good policy, to embroyle her ſelfe in that warre, till ſhe ſaw the French affaires better aduanced: ſhe refuſeth.

APHORISME XXXVII.

Credulity[1] *is rather a fault, then an offence. For, it hurteth no man, but it ſelfe. But in deceipt is both the offence, in promiſing the credulous more then he meanes to performe, (for, ſo he doth what he ſhould not:) And the fault in failing of what he promiſed, (for, ſo he doth not what he ſhould.)*[2] *The Maiſter-peece of this art, is to draw on the credulous by performance of ſmall things, that he may the more finely fetch him ouer in the greater.*[3] *The onely remedy againſt ſuch Craft-maſters is this, not to truſt: For he that truſteth not, can hardly be deceiued.*

Cic.ep.l.10. 1 *Credulitas, error magis eſt quàm culpa: & quidem in optimi cuiuſque mentem irrepit facillimè.*

Cic.ad frat. *Vt quiſque eſt vir optimus, ita diſſicillimè eſſe alios improbos ſuſpicatur.*

Liui. l. 28. 2 *Fraus in paruis fidem ſibi præſtruit, vt cùm operæpretium ſit, cum magna mercede fallat.*

Ariſtoph. Οἷσιν οὔτε ζωμὸς, οὔτε πίστις, οὔθ' ὅρκος μένει. *i. In quibus neque iuſiurandum, neque fides, neque altare locum habent.*

Cic.pro.Mil. *In animis hominum multæ ſunt latebræ & multi receſſus.*

Cic. ad Brut. *Temerè affirmare de altero eſt periculoſum, propter occultas hominum voluntates, multiplicesq; naturas.*

Phocylid. 3 Μὴ πίστευε τάχιστα, πρὶν ἀτρεκέως πέρας ἴδῃ. *i. Noli credere celerrimè, antequam verè finem videas.*

Lip.ex Hiſt. *Pragmatici homines, omnibus hiſtoricis præceptis, verſibus denique cauere iubent, & vetant credere.*

Seneca. *Magis amicorum inuidiam quàm inimicorum inſidias cauere debemus. Illud enim apertum, hoc celatum eſt malum; nocendiq; fraus quæ non ſperatur potentior eſt.*

Pro. Ital. *Da chi mi fido, mi guardi Iddio,*
Da chi mi non fido, mi guarderò io.

A truce is treated betweene the French King, and the King of

of *Spaine*. The French will in no caſe admit, that the Italian confederates ſhall be compriſed: being deſirous to proſecute his warre with ſtrong hand, on the other ſide the mountaines. The Spaniard for his Honours ſake, nor can nor will leaue them out, being his Colleagues in the ſame confederation: But he aſſures the French ſecretly, that the truce being concluded vpon this condition, he will then be as ready as he, to a finall and perfect peace betweene them two: and that then he will and may, with ſome colourable iuſtification, ioyne with him againſt the Italians: and propoundes the Co-partcinery and equall ſharing of the kingdome of *Naples* with him. The condition is accepted: and a truce concluded, to continue from the fiue and twentith of Aprill, to the laſt of October next following.

APHORISME XXXVIII.

TRagedies[1] *and Comedies are no where ſo rife, as vpon the bloudy ſtage of warre. Hope and feare are incompetent Iudges in theſe liſtes: and cannot determine which ſide hath the better:* [2] *Becauſe the euent, prooues for the moſt part contrary to the beginning: Wherfore let not him triumph that putteth on his armour, but him that putteth it off.*

1 *Inſperata accidunt magis ſæpè, quàm quæ ſperes.* Plaut. Moſt.

——*Spero & Pauento*

Sono Giudici incertiſſimi di Marte. Taſſo. Ca. 10.

2 *Peſsimus in dubijs augur timor.* Stat. l. 3. Th.

Ita poſtquam adempta ſpes eſt, laſſus, cura confectus, ſtupet. Terent. An.

Nunquam minùs quàm in bello, euentus reſpondent. Saluſt. Iug.

Incerti exitus pugnarum, & Mars communis: qui ſæpe ſpoliantem iam & exultantem euertit, & perculit ab abiecto. Cic. pro Mi.

Neſcis quid ſerus veſper vehat: (Varronis monitum,) ne præſentium ſucceſſuum proſperitate elati, futurorum curam abijciamus. Gell. è. Varr.

Frequenter iam fuſa acies, diſperſos ac paſsim ſequentes, reparatis viribus interemit. Veget. l. 3.

O, di quante Battaglie il fin ſucceſſe
Diuerſo à quel, che ſi credette inante. Arioſt. ca. 10.

Victori non vincenti gloria. Alciat. Emb.

In

In the *Interim*, before the truce came in force, *Triultio*, *Batteſtino*, and *Serenon*, encampe before *Albinga*: at the firſt aſſault they had almoſt made themſelues maſters of the place: but through diſorder in their entrie, they are againe beaten backe, forced to quit the action, and raiſe the ſiege. Contrarily: *Conte Gaiazzo* ſetteth downe before *Noui*: is beaten backe with great loſſe: riſeth with his army: returneth: and happily carrieth the place.

APHORISME XXXIX.

THankfulneſſe is accounted a heauy burthen: Reuenge, a ſweete refreſhing: Hence is it that men naturally are more prone to reuenge a wrong, then requite a good turne. Eſpecially the enuious, who like the Toade in the fable, ſwelleth to be as big as the Oxe, though he burſt in ſwelling: and with a ſpitefull eye, like that of the Baſilisk hurteth the obiect vpon which it fixeth. For, ſuch men cannot endure the proſperity of others, (eſpecially ſuch as were ſometimes their enemies) though the record of that former wrong hath ſince bene cancelled, with the accumulation of many benefits.

Bod. l. 5. rep. Tacit. hiſt. 4.
Proniores ad vindictam ſumus, quàm ad gratiam.
Gratia oneri, vindicta in quæſtu habetur.

Comic. Græ.
Ἅμ' ἐλέηται καὶ τέθνεκεν ἡ χάρις. *i. Simul & miſertum eſt, interijt q; gratia.*

Terent. Adc.
Abs quiuis homine cum opus eſt, beneficium accipere gaudeas,
Verùm enim verò id demum iuuat, ſi quem æquum eſt benefacere is facit.

Ant. Serm. de Bene.
Qui largiuntur indignis ea quæ dignis conferri debeant, tria committunt abſurda: nam & ipſi iacturam faciunt, & in bonos contumelioſi ſunt, & malos roborant, materia vitiorum ſuppeditata.

Plaut. Perſa.
Improbus eſt homo, qui beneficium ſcit ſumere, & reddere neſcit.

Demoſt. ad Leptin.
Qui indignum aliquem honore afficiunt, ſimplicitatis ac ſtultitiæ opinionem aliquam habent: qui verò de ſe benemeritis paria non referunt, malitiæ ſuſpicionem incurrunt.

Plaut. Trin.
Malo ſi benefeceris, id beneficium interit.

Cornar.
Perfuſum vas eſt ingratus homuncio, ſemper omne quod infundis perfluit in nihilum.

Rimarum

Rimarum plenus perdit tua dona ſceleſtus:
Si ſapis integro vina reconde cado. Luſcin.

Qui in ea eſt ſententia, vt exiſtimet, magnorum virorum inueterata odia beneficijs nouis dilui, & in obliuionem induci poſſe, is vehementer fallitur. Mac.Pri.c.7.

Now that armes are laid aſide in *Italie*, by force of the late truce; *Lodowick Zforza* makes publicke acknowledgement to the world, of the obligation and thankfulneſſe he owes to the Venetian State, for their ready, timely, and full ſuccours in theſe his late troubles: He extols to the heauens the honour and power of that Common-wealth: He approues the wiſedome of *Iohn Galeazzo* firſt Duke of *Millan*, in making that State his Feoffee in truſt, for the due execution and performance of his laſt will and teſtament. Yet for all this, not able to endure in his enuious nature, that *Piſa* ſhould be wholly at her deuotion, which himſelfe had hunted after with ſo much policie and paine; he worketh ſecretly with the Popes and Spaniſh Embaſſadours, to procure that *Piſa* might againe be reſtored to the Florentines, and wrung out of the hands of the Venetians.

APHORISME XL.

WHere [1] *Election is free, we are to chooſe the beſt of benefites: where it is reſtrained, we muſt take the leaſt of dangers. Wherefore in a treatie betweene States, when a demand is made, which the weaker would not willingly grant, (in diſtruſt of bad meaſure from the ſtronger) let him rather propound ſome impoßible caution, then make a flat deniall: becauſe, it giueth the demander no better aduantage, and yet procureth himſelfe leſſe diſpleaſure.* [2] *For, nothing is more harſh to him that motions a matter, then a peremptorie refuſall: and we daily obſerue, that many ſutors are ſent away without their purpoſe, better ſatisfied; then others that with bad tearmes and in ill manner obtaine it.*

1 *Alcibiades cuidam dicenti, Non fidis patriæ de te iudicaturæ? Ego ſanè,* Plut.Alcib.

inquit, ne matri quidem: vererer enim ne insciens pro albo calculo nigrum immitteret.

Demosth. Κοινὸν φυλακτήριον τῶν εὐφρονούντων Ἀπιστία. *Diffidentia prudentum hominum commune Thesaurarium.*

Eurip. *Sapiente diffidentia non alia res vtilior mortalibus.*

Horat.ep.1. *Cautus enim metuit foueam, Lupus Accipiterq́;*
Suspectos laqueos, & opertum Miluius hamum.

Arist.eth.l.5. 2 *Minus malum etiam boni speciem gerit quodam modo.*

Teren.heaut *Istuc est sapere, qui vbicunque opus sit, animum possit flectere.*

Plaut.Pœnul *Modus omnibus in rebus (soror) est optimum habitu,*
Nimia omnia nimium exhibent negotium hominibus ex se.

Hesiod. *Imprudens est quisquis cum præstantioribus certare vult.*

Terent.And. *Vt quimus, aiunt, quando vt volumus, non licet.*

Cic.ad frat. ep.1. *Nihil est tam deforme, quàm ad summum imperium acerbitatem naturæ adiungere.*

Cic.pro Rab *Satis est homines imprudentia lapsos non erigere: vrgere verò iacentes, aut præcipitantes impellere, certè est inhumanum.*

Adag.Poly. Ἐρετειέων ϛῶ. *Dictum in homines præcipites & violentos. Rho enim litera canina est.*

The Popes and Spaniſh Embaſſadours deale with thoſe of *Venice*, about the reſignation of *Piſa:* their allegations are anſwered by the Venetians; and that point argued to be both preiudicious and pernicious to the common good of *Italie*, becauſe the Florentines were in ſo ſtrict amitie with the French, as no benefit of theirs could diſſolue it. Yet, to ſhew that the State of *Venice* was as deſirous of their loue, and of the peace of *Italie*, as any other, ſhe would be content to reſigne the place, prouided that the Florentines put in good caution, not to aide the French. And no caution was ſufficient for a matter of ſuch importance, but the Port of *Ligorne* to be put into the hands of the confederates, for their aſſurance. A thing which the Venetians knew full well, that the Florentines would not grant. So the Treatie brake off.

APHO-

APHORISME XLI.

AS he that is friend to all, is true friend to none: So that which hath many heads, hath no head at all. A multitude is this many-headed monſter, which hath neither head for braines, nor braines for gouernement. And as in a medicine, if there be not a due proportion of the Simples in the mixture, there is a miſchiefe for a remedie, not a remedie for a miſchiefe: So, in a popular State, where there is no equall temperature, and counterpoiſe of the nobilities power, againſt this ſtrong Ingredient of the multitude, there is diſorder, and a way open to confuſion.

1 *Amicus omnium, amicus nullorum.* Cic.de Am. Saluſt.Iug.

2 *Hydra & monſtrum multorum capitum, eſt ipſa multitudo: Ingenio mobili, ſeditioſum, atque diſcordioſum, cupidum nouarum rerum, & otio aduerſum.*

Vulgus ſine Rectore, præceps, pauidum, ſecors, atque etiam vecors. Tacit.an 4.

Procacia plebis ingenia. Tacit.an.2.

Vulgus audacia turbidum, niſi vim metuat. Tacit.an.6.

Vulgus ægris oculis alienam fœlicitatem intuetur. Id.l.an.2.

Sic eſt vulgus, ex veritate pauca, ex opinione multa, iudicat. Cic.pro Roſ.

In imperfecta multitudine, eſt varietas, & inconſtantia, & crebra tanquam tempeſtatum ſic etiam ſententiarum commutatio. Cic.pro Dó.

Nihil in vulgo modicum, terrent ni pauent: vbi pertimuerint, impunè contemnuntur. Tac.an.1.

Vulgus eſt ad deteriora promptum.

Non delectu aliquo aut ſapientia ducitur ad iudicandum, ſed impetu nonnunquam & quadam etiam temeritate: non eſt enim conſilium in vulgo, non ratio, non diſcrimen, non diligentia: ſemperq; ſapientes ea quæ populus feciſſet, ferenda non laudanda duxerunt. Tacit.an 16. Cic.proPlan

Non ego ventoſæ plebis ſuffragia venor
Impenſis cœnarum, & tritæ munere veſtis. Hor.1.ep.19.

The forme of gouernment laſt eſtabliſhed in *Florence*, was not well reigled. The mixture was made of theſe two Simples, Optimacie and Democracie, but it was diſproportionall: for, this latter being hot in the higheſt degree, had the predominancie. Hence grew ſuſpitions, iealouſies, and factions among

them: the nobler ſort had leſſe authoritie then was fit, and yet the populaſſe thought them ambitious, and chalengers of more then their due. This fæcall part of the people intrudeth into all deliberations of weightieſt conſequence, whereof they were vncapable. They change the ſupreme magiſtrate euery two moneths, and by that meanes the State-buſineſſe is managed with manifeſt confuſion. The great charges and troubles of a long warre, together with a preſent dearth and ſcarcitie of all things, puts the citie into imminent hazard. This ill diſpoſition of the gouernment, and generall diſlike of the preſent, encourageth *Peter Medici*, through the perſwaſion of the Pope, aide of the Venetians, *Petrucci*, *Aluiano*, and his other friends abroad, together with the ſollicitation of thoſe mal-contents, and kinſmen he had in the towne, to attempt the recouery of his libertie, lands, and authoritie, that he had deſeruedly loſt in that citie. It is true, the enterpriſe ſucceeded not: not out of any failing of his friends abroad, or partiſans in the towne, but through accident: for he miſſed to come with his forces to the gate which was kept, and made good for him, many houres after the time aſſigned, being hindred by a ſodaine and great fall of raine.

APHORISME XLII.

AN ill executor of lawes, is worſe in a State then a great breaker of them. Not to puniſh an offence, being vnder our charge, and in our power, is to commit it. There is no greater offence to the weale-publick, and quiet thereof, then a factious partaking and deadly Feud among the great ones. Conniuence therefore in a Prince, to winke at ſuch factions, and ſlackneſſe not to ſuppreſſe them, is dangerous.

Seneca. Philo.

1 *Qui non vetat peccare, cum poteſt, iubet.*

Qui enim caſtigare, aut ſaltem cohibere, cum poſsit, non cohibet: palàm eſt, eum permittere, & penè mandare.

Inducit

Inducit maximam illecebram peccandi impunitatis ſpes. Cicero.
Quis cum metuet, apud quem conditum, immò conſtrictum ferrum ſit? Sen. de Cle.
Quid leges ſine moribus vanæ proficiunt? Hor. 3. od. 24.
Mores leges perduxerunt iam in poteſtatem ſuam: Eæ miſeræ etiam ad parietes ſunt fixæ ferreis clauis, vbi malos adfigi erat æquius. Plaut. Trin.
Nihil in diſcordijs ciuilibus feſtinatione tutius, vbi facto magis quàm conſulto eſt opus. Tacit. hiſt. 1.
Quos ipſa natura retinere in officio non poteſt, ij magnitudine pœnæ maleficio ſubmoueri debent. Cic. pro Roſ
2 *On meſpriſe & deteſte ceux, qui laiſſent viure leurs ſuiets en toute licence de mal faire, & confondent les punitions auec les loyers.* Am. Plu. Cic
Ce que donne volonté & moyens aux hommes de grands eſprits, de conſpirer contre leur Princes, & d'attenter à l'vſurpation de la coronne, eſt l'imbecillité & la neantiſe d'iceux Princes. Haill. l. 1.

The factions, *Guelphe* and *Ghibelline*, increaſe in the Churches State: and ſome notable enſuing miſchiefe is feared. The Pope *Alexander 6.* careleſſe of the afflictions of his ſubiects, or his owne honour, ſo it touched not his particular profit or pleaſure, ſtirres not to preuent the miſchiefe, or ſuppreſſe the motion. *Aluiano* with his troopes is called by the *Guelphes* into the towne of *Todi*: They ſacke it, and put to death three and thirtie of the principall heads of the other faction. In reuenge hereof, *Antonio Sauello* enters *Terni*: and the *Gatteſchi* by the helpe of the Colonneſi, ſurpriſe *Viterbo*. In both which places the *Ghibellines* commit like outrage and ſlaughter vpon the *Guelphes*.

APHORISME XLIII.

THere are degrees of vices: and howſoeuer Ethicks out of their Philoſophie determine thoſe of exceſſe to be leſſe odious and hurtfull: yet Politicks finde out of their experience, that they are rather to be iudged by the effect, then the defect. By which rule, Luſt and Ambition are two vices of all other the moſt hatefull: Becauſe they are moſt powerfull miniſters to all nefarious actions.

Contumax res libido, æſtro percita, & ad inſaniam proximè accedens. Tacit. hiſt. l. 1

Ouid. *Et ruit in vetitum damni ſecura libido.*

Seneca. *Ambitio res ventoſa, nullum habens exitum aut terminum.*

Cicero. *Complures ſe ſcelere contaminarunt imperij cupiditate.*

Sen. Hippol. *Quæque ſuccenſas agit libido mentes.*

Idem, Ib. *Quiſquis ſecundis rebus exultat nimis,*
Fluitq́ luxu, ſemper inſolita appetens,
Tunc illum magnæ dira fortunæ comes
Subit libido. —

Cic. off. 1. *Maximè adducuntur plerique, vt eos iuſtitiæ capiat obliuio, cum in imperiorum, honorum, gloriæve cupiditatem, inciderint.*

Ficin. *Libido Lex viro inſipienti.*

Billi. *In reliquis vitijs ſequitur victoria pugnam,*
Vincitur at celeri ſæua libido fuga:
Nemo etenim niſi qui metuet fugietq́ periclum,
Tutus ab hac poterit viuere peſte diu.

Cæſar Borgia, Cardinall of *Valencia*, could not brooke, that his elder brother the Duke of *Candia*, ſhould be aduanced by the Pope their father, to temporall honours, and be made Generall of the Eccleſiaſtick army: to which dignity himſelfe aſpired, hauing a ſpirit altogether aliened from prieſtly function. He was alſo enraged againſt him, becauſe he was his corriuall and concurrent in his Amours, and ſhared with him in the fauour, and carnall vſe of his Miſtris. Hereupon he practiſeth the death of his brother: and one night as he rode priuately through the ſtreetes of *Rome*, he cauſed him to be murthered, and throwne into the riuer of *Tyber*.

APHORISME XLIIII.

NOcuments[1] *are Documents: and great afflictions are good lectures, to reformation of life and manners. For, the harder the preſſure is with calamity, the deeper is the impreſſion of our frailty, and lyableneſſe to miſery:*[2] *But in a heart neuer moiſtned with the dew of Grace, and obdurate with the continuall practiſe of wickedneſſe and villany, they take no deeper roote: Such mortars will ſtill ſauour of the garlicke.*

1 Ἐξ ὧν ἔπαθες, ἔμαθες: Παθήματα μαθήματα. *Nocumenta documenta.* Adag. græc.
Miseria, Prudentiæ bona Mater. Lip. ann. l. 3.
—— Grande doloris Ouid. Me. l. 6
Ingenium est, miserisq; venit solertia rebus.
—— Nec enim fortuna querenda Oui. Me. vlt.
Sola tua est: similes aliorum respice casus;
Mitiùs ista feres. ——
Ictus piscator sapit. Adag. Lat.
Quod sors feret, feramus æquo animo, Terent. Pho.
Istuc viri est officium.
2 *—— Ad mores natura recurrit* Iuue. Sat. 13.
Damnatos fixa, & mutari nescia.
Naturam expellas furca licet, vsq; recurrit. Horat. Serm. l. 2. Sat. 2.
Le plus grand iugement, que sçauroit auenir aux meschants, est, qu'ils se condemnent eux mesmes, & n'en deuiennent pas meilleurs. Am. Plu. Di.
Vnicuique dedit vitium natura creato. Propert. l. 2.
Quicquid infixum & ingenitum est, lenitur arte, non vincitur. Senec. de ira
Le Mortier sent tousiours les Aulx. Pro. Gallic.

The Pope is ouercome with sorrow for the vntimely and violent death of his eldest sonne the Duke of *Candia.* He bewailes his losse with many teares: calles his owne former life into consideration: accuseth himselfe in open Consistory of his actions past, and whole course of life, till that present day: sheweth great contrition: promiseth amendment: and requires the whole colledge of Cardinalles to ioyne with him, in reformation of the disorders and corruptions of the Court. But shortly after, when he knew the author of the murther, and that Cæsar *Borgia,* his owne sonne was the assassinate, (which should haue aggrauated his griefe) he cooles in his burning zeale to reformation, and falles to his olde byas of wickednesse and treacherie, with a more vnbridled fury of ambition and couetousnesse, then euer before.

APHO-

APHORISME XLV.

IN Treaſon, the concealement is as capitall as the practiſe: Here are no Acceſſories: All are in like predicament of offence, and danger of law: For, he deſerues as ill of the State, that will not reueale a publicke miſchiefe and preuent it, as he that intendeth and practiſeth it. Wherefore no puniſhment for ſuch, can by law be too ſodaine, or too cruell: though (vnleſſe the delay do much endanger the State) it ought euer be ſuch, as the law in like caſes ordaineth.

Valer. l. 9. *Proditio tantum incommodi humano generi affert, quantum ſalutis bona fides.*

Cic. Catil. *Nulla poteſt eſſe, in tanti ſceleris immanitate punienda, crudelitas.*

Lip. *Proditionis conuictos puni, & grauiter puni. Nam inſidiatori aut latroni, quæ poteſt inferri iniuſta nex?*

Cic. pro Mi. *Impia proditio celeri pœna vindicanda eſt.*

Valer. l. 2. Δικαξαὶ τύτοις ὄσωσαν, ὅιπες ἱεροσύλοις. *Puniantur tanquam ſacrilegi.*

Plat. leg. l. 9. *Ne ſanguinem noſtrum largiare, & dum paucis ſceleratis parcis, bonos omnes perditum eas.*

Saluſt. Cat. *Eſt vtilius vnius improbi ſupplicio multorum improbitatem coercere, quàm propter improbos multos vni parcere.*

Cic. in Ver. *Tua cautio, noſtra cautio eſt.*

Cic. pro. Ma. *Latus à domeſticis hoſtibus munies.*

Curt. l. 3. *Qui dubitat vlciſci, improbos plures facit.*

Senec. ſent. *Nulla cuiuſquam miſericordia, quia flagitiorum deformitas præualebat.*

Tacit. an. 11. *Facinus non admittit lenta conſilia.*

Ioſeph. f. 278

The conſpirators with *Medici* are diſcouered in the citie of *Florence*: They are apprehended, arraigned, and conuicted by a lawfull triall. *Nicolò Ridolphi*, *Gianozzo Pucci*, and *Giouanni Cambi* are condemned, for ſolliciting him to come: *Lorenzo Tornabuoni* for helping him with money: and *Barnardo del Nero*, for hauing knowne the conſpiracy, and concealing it. All gentlemen, of the chiefeſt howſes in *Florence*, and *Nero* at the ſame time Gonfaloner of Iuſtice, (the chiefe office in that State.) The kinſemen of the offenders appeale from this iudgement of the Senate, to the great Councell of the commons (as by the law of that gouernement they might.) It is propounded at the table of Senators, whether

whether this appeale ſhould ſtand good, or no; and is caſt by voices, on the negatiue part. The offenders are all executed that night in priſon.

APHORISME XLVI.

PRecedents, are no iuſtifiable warrants of Princes actions, when they are taken from thoſe who are generally and iuſtly taxed of iniuſtice. Yet ſuch is the deprauation of mans nature, as he rather imitates the worſe, then the better: And in ill, to exceed: in good, to come ſhort of the example.

Duo illa nos maximè mouent, ſimilitudo & exemplum. Cic. 3. de Or.

Id genus hominum vniuerſis eſt aduorſum, atque omni populo malè facit; malè fidem ſeruando, illis quoque abrogant fidem, qui nihil meriti. Quippe ex eorum ingenio, ingenium horum probant. Plaut.

Vbi ſemel à recto deerratum eſt, in præceps peruenitur, neq; quiſquam ſibi turpe putat, quod alteri fuit fructuoſum. Vellei. l. 2.

Quod exemplo fit, id etiam iure fieri putant homines. Cic. ad Sulp.

L'imitazione del male, ſupera l'eſſempio: Si come per lo contrario, l'imitazione del bene è ſempre inferiore. Por. in Guic. l. 6.

Prodeſt ſine dubio cuſtodem tibi propoſuiſſe, & habere quem reſpicias: Longè autem melius eſt, cùm iam profeceris tantùm, vt ſit tibi etiam tui reuerentia, & tecum feceris, cum quo peccare non audeas. Senec ep. ad Lucil.

——— *Dociles imitandis*
Turpibus ac prauis omnes ſumus: & Catilinam
Quocunque in populo videas, quocunque ſub axe,
Sed nec Brutus erit, Bruti nec auunculus vſquam. Iuuen. Sat. 14

The Spaniard ſeemes loath to abandon the Italians his confederates, to the power of the French. And yet now vpon a new truce concluded betweene them (which was to continue *ad beneplacitum* of both the parties, and two moneths after the reuocation) he quite excludes thoſe Princes his allies. They complaine of this his tergiuerſation. He iuſtifies himſelfe thus: That it was as lawfull for him to do this, without their leaue or compriſall, as for the Duke of *Millan* to make peace with *France*,

at the treatie of *Vercelli*, without his consent or notice. But yet for their better satisfaction, he pretends that he will reuoke this truce, whensoeuer they shall rimbourse vnto him one hundred and fiftie thousand Duckats, which he hath already spent in those warres: and when withall the Venetians shall quit their possession and interest in *Pisa*, for the common quiet of *Italy*.

APHORISME XLVII.

IVstice and Fortune are painted blinde: to shew vs what the one doth, and what the other should not do: for, the one vseth to giue without respect, and the other in no respect is to take. Those Princes therefore, that for bribe-, feare-, or any other particular end, faile of doing euery man right, swarue from the prescript rule of Iustice and Equitie, which admits of none to sit in her Seate but such, whose eies are seeled from respecting persons, and hands closed from accepting rewards.

Hor.3.car.3. *Iustum & tenacem propositi virum,*
Non ciuium ardor prava iubentium,
Non vultus instantis tyranni
Mente quatit solida.

Tacit.an.l.13 *Nihil in penatibus eius venale sit, aut ambitioni peruium.*

Claudian. *Corrumpentia sensus dona:* —— *Persuadere dona & diis fama est.*

Phocylid. Κρίσιν εἰς χαρὶν ἑλκειν· *Iudicium donis emptum.*

Ex Hesiod. *Iudices, neque* προσωπολήπτας, *neque* δωροφάγοι *esse debent.*

Hor.l.4.od.9 —— *Bonus atque fidus*
Iudex, honestum praetulit vtili, &
Reiecit alto dona nocentium
Vultu. ——
—— *Prouincia cum te*

Iuuen.Sat.18 *Rectorem accipiet, pone iræ frena, modumq;*
Pone & auaritiæ.

Hesiod.l.1. Οἱ δὲ δίκας ξείνοισι, καὶ ἐνδήμοισι διδοῦσι
ἰθείας, καὶ μὴ τι παρεκβαίνουσι δικαίου,
τοῖσι τεθήλε πόλις, λαοὶ δ' ἀνθεύσιν ἐν αὐτῇ.
Qui iura tam hospitibus quàm popularibus dant iusta, nec à iusto quicquam exorbitant, ijs viget vrbs, populus verò floret in ipsa.

Vir

Vir iuſtus eſt, non qui non facit iniuriam,
Sed qui cum iniuriari poſsit, non vult tamen,
Nec qui à paruis capiendis inſtituit,
Sed qui magna ſuſtinet non accipere,
Quamuis habere queat & poſsidere ſine periculo.

Philem. in Palamid.

In the treatie at *Vercelli* it was articled, that the Caſtle of *Genoa* ſhould be left *in depoſito* with the Duke of *Ferrara*, for performance of all couenants betweene the Duke of *Millan* and the French King: with *prouiſo* to be redeliuered to the Duke at two yeares end, in caſe he kept all conditions couenanted in the treatie, and paide halfe the charge of the garriſon for that time, otherwiſe not. The time is expired. *Zforza* hath failed on his part, in the performance of many couenants: *Ferrara* demands halfe the charges of the King. He yeelds willingly to pay it: And becauſe *Ferrara* vrged that he had not his liquidation, and full reckoning for the reſt of his charges, the King requires him to hold the place ſtill, till the caſe were fully decided, to which of the two he ought to conſigne it: A demand very reaſonable and iuſt. But *Ferrara* is ouercome by *Zforzaes* perſwaſions and flatteries, and by beſtowing the Archbiſhoprick of *Millan* vpon his ſonne the Cardinall *d'Eſté*: but moſt of all through feare of diſpleaſing two ſo powerfull neghbours to his State, as *Venice* and *Millan*. He therefore deliuers the Caſtle of *Genoa* into the Dukes hands: receiuing the remainder of the ſumme due for the guard of the place: and the State of *Venice* by way of gratification, giues his other ſonne *Don Ferrando*, the command of one hundred men at armes in pay.

APHORISME XLVIII.

HE *that beares one blow at an enemies hand, asketh another: and he that endureth one contemptible neglect from his ſubiect, ſhall be ſure of many. For, not to haue ſenſe of a forreine affront, and be diſpleaſed at home-bred abuſes, and capable to redreſſe both,*

are things much derogating from the honour of a Prince: the firſt argues a puſillanimitie of ſpirit; the other a debilitie of iudgement. [2] *He therefore that will not be wronged the ſecond time, muſt remedie the firſt: againſt a ſtranger, by the Lance; againſt a ſubiect, by the Law.*

Plu. de Cato

1 *Impunitæ iniuriæ exemplum, omnibus minatur iniuriam: Etenim ſi liceat impunè lædere, nullus erit tutus ab improborum violentia.*

Senec. de ira.

Veterem ferendo iniuriam, inuitas nouam.

Lucret. l. 5.

Princeps niſi ſe ab iniuria vindicauerit, —ſubuerſa iacebit
Priſtina maieſtas ſoliorum, & Sceptra ſuperba.

Tacit. an. l. 2.

Subitis offenſis, vel intempeſtiuis blanditijs mutabilem, meritò condemnant.

Haill. Eſtat. l. 3.

Voy-la le mal-heur d'vn ſiecle miſerable & iniuſte, de cognoiſtre l' iniuſtice, & ne l'oſer dire, n'y en faire la punition: voy-la comment les Princes ſouuent cognoſſent le mal, & iugeans au contraire, donnent l'abſolution: eſtants à cela contraints par les temps, auxquels leur iniuſtice ils donnent cette licence, et apres en reçoyuent les premiers le mal.

Tacit. hiſt. 2.

Vitellius contemptior indies, ſegniorq;.

Seneca.

Grauius eſt contemni, quàm ſtultitia percuti.

Cic. in Ver. 3

2 *Vnius improbi ſupplicio, multorum improbitas coercetur.*

Lip. pol. l. 5.

Si crebra nimis ſit eorum inſolentia, & tanquam mala herba nimiùm ſuccreuerit, falce eſt recidenda.

Statil. l. 5.

—Primo in limine ſiſte
Conatus ſcelerum, atque animos infanda parantes.

The Duke of *Ferrara* ſends to *Charles* 8. to excuſe the conſignation he had made of the Caſtle of *Genoa*, into the Duke of *Millans* hands: an action of great iniuſtice and wrong to the French. The King heares thereof without any manner of reſentment or diſpleaſure, as a matter of ſleight conſequence, though indeed it touched neare his honour, and ſtate of his preſent affaires, being ſtill reſolued vpon a perſonall returne into *Italy*. To this expedition, the occaſion was neuer fairer, nor meanes ſtronger. For, the Florentines are willing to entertaine *d'Aubigny*, with one hundred and fiftie men at armes, as Generall of their forces, and to breake the ice, and make the way to his comming. The Marquis of *Mantoa*, returning victoriouſly from *Naples*, where he had commanded vnder the Venetians, with great honour to himſelfe, and aduancement of their affaires, is by them now at his returne caſſed from his command: and in diſcontent, offers his ſeruice to the French King. The new Duke of *Sauoy* is aſſuredly his:

Bentiuoglio

Bentiuoglio promiſeth faithfully to follow his fortunes, ſo ſoone as he ſhall haue paſſed the mountaines. The Pope (yet doubtfull whether to ioyne with him, or be newter) is vndoubtedly reſolued not to be againſt him. But his fauourites, and courtiers abuſe him with variety of artifice: ſome inuent new delights and pleaſures to ſtay him at home: others, propound many difficulties: the reſt aduiſe him not to ſet forward, till he had ſuch a maine power both at ſea, and land, as no force the Italians could make, ſhould be able to reſiſt him: and all theſe that he might be drawne to quit the action: as for *S Malò*, who was chiefe treaſurer, and had formerly failed in his ſeaſonable and ſufficient ſupplies in time of moſt neede, and yet was neuer called to account to anſwer ſo great a neglect, he now at this inſtant vſeth his old tricke, of diſpenſing the kings money ſparingly, ſlowly, and out of due ſeaſon: and failed of ſending the entertainement due to the *Orſini* and the *Vitelli*, a matter of great moment to the Kings ſeruice intended. Thus the King, whoſe will depéded vpon the pleaſure of others, cooles in the buſineſſe ſo hotely entended: returnes from *Lyons*: thence to *Toures*: ſo to *Amboiſe* caſtle, where he ſhortly after died.

APHORISME XLIX.

AS[1] ſacred things ſhould not be touched with vnwaſhed hands:[2] So State matters ſhould admit no vulgar handling: Prayer is here the Church-mans onely weapon. He muſt neither lift vp his hand to reforme, nor his voice to reprooue. To mooue to trouble and commotion, is a motion Exentrick, and out of his commiſsion. They are all in theſe caſes barred Bye and Maine, except they be of the Councell, and in Councell. For ſeditious Preachers againſt the State Politick, and ſcandalous inueighers againſt the State Eccleſiaſtick, vnder which they liue, bring diſtraction in thoſe States, and deſtruction to themſelues.

1 *Tractare ſacra illotis, quod aiunt, manibus.* Adag.

2 Πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν ἱερωσύνῃ σωάπτειν, τὸ κλωᾶειν ἔστι τὰ ἀσύγκλωστα: *velle ciuilem virtutem* Syneſ. ep. 67

virtutem coniungere cum ſacerdotio, eſt miſcere omnino non miſcenda.

Nicephor. Οὐ γὰρ θεωρία καὶ πρᾶξις πολιτικὴ, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ σωμεῖναι πεφύκασι. *Spiritualis contemplatio & ciuilis adminiſtratio, vt plurimùm inter ſe omnino non conueniunt.*

Lucret. *Tantum religio potuit ſuadere malorum?*

Liui.l. 39. *Nihil in ſpeciem fallacius quàm prauæ religio eſt, vbi deorum numen prætenditur ſceleribus.*

Phil.de cõfu linguarum. Δυσχεραίνοντες τῇ πατρίᾳ πολιτείᾳ, ψόγου καὶ κατηγορίαν ἀεὶ τῶν νομῶν μελετῶντες. *Malè affecti erga patria inſtituta, & in reprehenſionem ſemper legum accuſationemq; intenti.*

Sauanarola, a man of a fiery and impetuous ſpirit, had in his ſermons from time to time, perſwaded the Florentines to a popular gouernement, and preuailed: Had furthered and forced the law of Appellation, from the Magiſtrates to the Councell of the Commons: Yet ſuffred it to take no effect, when the benefit of that law was demanded, by the offenders in *Medicis* conſpiracy: whereby many of the Nobility loſt their liues, and himſelfe purchaſed much hatred, from their friends and kinſmen. He had confidently preſaged of great felicity and enlargement to the Florentine State, and declination to the Sea of *Rome*: which, for his greater credit and reputation, he pretended to know by reuelation. He is accuſed to the Pope, of preaching ſcandalouſly againſt that Sea and Court: he is ſequeſtred from preaching, ſilenced, and cited to *Rome*. He diſobeies in both. His enemies in the citie of *Florence* preferre new billes of complaint againſt him. He receiues new *Mandates*. The whole citie is diuided about him: ſo is the Clergy: in the end, his aduerſaries get the vpper hand, and impriſon him: his proceſſe is framed: it cleares him of many calumnies and foule aſperſions, of auarice, luſt, and practiſe with other Princes: it chargeth him with ſcandalizing the preſent Church gouernement; with taxing the Court and Clergie of corrupt and diſſolute liuing: with chalenging the Popes of intruſion and vnlawfull obtaining the Papacy: with perſwading to an innouation of the preſent State, and reducing things to the integrity of the times next after the Apoſtles: and mouing to haue a generall Councell for reformation. For theſe cauſes, he is condemned, degraded, committed to the ſecular power, hanged, and burned.

A PHO-

APHORISMES, CIVIL AND MILITARIE.

LIB. IIII.

APHORISME I.

AMong[1] States that haue entercourſe of traffick, or diſpute of right together; euery alteration in the one, begets new deliberations in all the reſt: Eſpecially vpon the death of any Prince, in whoſe State appeares a new face of all things. Wherefore in theſe deliberations, the neighbour States muſt imitate the Camælion, who often changeth his colour, and is alwaies with his eyes open. [2] So muſt they change their former reſolutions, and looke as well with the left eye, vpon what may be hurtfull: as with the right, vpon what may be aduantageous to them.

1 *Nunquam os operit, nec pupillæ motu ſed totius oculi verſione circumſpicit: celſus hiante ore, colore mirabilior, mutat namq; cum ſubinde.* Plin. na. hiſt. l. 8. cap. 33.

Non timemus Veſpaſianum, ea principis ætas, ea moderatio. Tacit. hiſt. 4.

Finis Neronis varios motus animorum non modò in vrbe apud patres, apud populum, apud vrbanum militem, ſed omnes legiones, duceſq; conciuerat. Tac. hiſt. l. 1.

Finis vitæ eius nobis luctuoſus, extraneis etiam ignotiſq; non ſine cura fuit. Tac. Agric.

Poſtquam prouectæ iam ſenectus, ægro & corpore fagitabatur, aderatq; finis & ſpes nouæ, pauci bona libertatis, plures bellum paueſcere, alij cupere, pars multo maxima imminentes dominos varijs rumoribus differebant. Trucem Agrippam, &c. Tac. Annal. l. 1. fol. 3.

2 *Temporibus ſeruiendum: Nec quicquam tutius, quàm de illius conſilijs, ex ipſius indole, moribuſq; iudicare, aut eorum qui apud illum magni.* Lip. an. l. 3.

Principis naturam quocum rem habiturus es, aut ipſe cognoſcas oportet, aut tangas ad lapidem illum Lydium communis famæ. Singuli enim decipere & decipi poſſunt, nemo omnes, neminem omnes fefellerunt. Plin. Paneg

Chi ha à fare prognoſtico delle deliberazioni d'altri, debbe (non ſi volendo ingannare) Guicc. l. 7.

gannare) hauer in conſideratione, non tanto quello che veriſimilmente farebbe vn Sauio, quanto quello ſia il ceruello e la natura, di chi ha à deliberare.

Macc. pr. 21. *Verùm ibi Prudentia conſpicua fit, vbi quis diſcriminis naturam proſpicit, atque iniquæ rationis quod eſt, id tanquam commodum ad rem præſentem arripit.*

Lewes 12. ſucceedes to the crowne of *France*. It was likely in all reaſon of State, that he would not ſodainely wrap himſelfe into warres beyond the Alpes, in the beginning of his reigne, before his State were well ſetled at home. But thoſe Princes of *Italy* that were beſt aduiſed, ſuſpected that their troubles would be greater then before: a King of ripe yeares being aduanced to that Monarchie, experienced in the warres, a more moderate ſpender, more maſter of himſelfe then his predeceſſor, and who, beſides his title to *Naples* by the crowne of *France*, laid claime alſo to *Millan*, as he was Duke of *Orleans*.

APHORISME II.

A Faire maide richly endowed, is neuer without Sutors: And a great State newly fallen, neuer without claimers: nor theſe ambitious competitors euer without ſome colour of title. In which concurrence of pretenders, not the iuſteſt claime, but the ſharpeſt ſword commonly preuaileth.

Tacit. an. 15. *Virorum armorumq; faciendum certamen. Id in ſumma fortuna æquius quod validius.*

Plu. apop. *Qui iſto gladio prævalet, is optimè de finibus diſputat.*

Taſſo. cant. 2 *— E che ripone*
Nella Spada ſua legge, e ſua ragione.

Tac. an. l. 15. *Sua retinere, priuatæ domus: de alienis certare, regiam laudem putant.*

Æneid. l. 11 *Ipſum armis, ipſumq; iubent decernere ferro,*
Qui regnum Italiæ & primos ſibi poſcat honores.

Suet. de Agr *Si non dominaris filiola, iniuriam te accipere exiſtimas.*

Lip. è Luc. *Hæc acies victum factura nocentem eſt. (Subtiliſsimæ militiæ eſt hoc Poetæ.)*

Lip. è Liuio *In armis ius ferre: & omnia virorum fortium eſſe. (Improbum & hoc.)*

Suet. fol. 102 *Cornelius Centurio oſtendens gladij capulum, non dubitauit in curia dicere, Hic faciet ſi vos non feceritis.*

Lewes

Lewes Duke of *Orleans*, brother to *Charles* 6. and grandfather to the preſent King, married Lady *Valentina*, daughter to *Iohn Galeazzo*, firſt Duke of *Millan*. She had in Dower the towne and Prouince of *Aſti*; beſides a great ſumme of money, and an expreſſe couenant, (in caſe the line maſculine failed) ſhe or her next heires to ſucceed in the Dukedome. This conueighance was made the Emperour being dead, and therefore inualidous, but that the French affirme it was ratified by the Pope, who pretends to haue this right in himſelfe, *vacante Imperio*. Vpon the death of *Philip-Maria Viſconti*, (the laſt heire-male of that line) *Charles*, ſonne to this *Lewes*, puts in his claime: So doth the Emperour *Frederick*, as deuolued to the Empire, for default of heires males. The like doth *Alphonſo* king of *Arragon* and *Naples*, whom *Philip-Maria* had inſtituted his heire, by his laſt will and teſtament. But *Francis Zforza*, father to *Lodowick* the preſent Duke, who married the onely daughter of *Philip-Maria* (though illegitimate) a great ſouldier of his time, and more powerfull in armes then the other competitors, more prudent in his deliberations, and ſucceſſull in his actions, makes good his Plea with his ſword: carries the Priſe from them all, and is inueſted with the Duchie of *Millan*.

APHORISME III.

IT' is as great a folly to loſe what is our owne, through ouer-much negligence, as it is an offence to intrude vpon others through too much ambition. For, not to ſeeke our right, is want of prudence; not to recouer it, is want of power; but not to demand it at all, is to quit it altogether: as gameſters that giue ouer their game, yeeld it loſt. 2 Wherefore the Prince who meanes not to quit his right, muſt from time to time put in his claime.

1 *Non minùs eſt turpe ſua relinquere, quàm in aliena inuadere iniuſtum & ambitioſum.* Saluſt. Iug.

Demoſt.Phil *Quænam eſt cauſa cur Philippus plures res quàm nos ſuperiori bello ex animi ſententia geſsit? hic ipſe militat, labores perfert, periculis adeſt, neque occaſionem rei bene gerendæ prætermittens, neque vllam anni partem omittens: Nos verò nihil facientes hîc perpetuò ſedemus cunctabundi, &c.*

Demoſt.Oly *Quòd multa bello perdidimus, ignauiæ noſtræ iure adſcribi conuenit.*

Cato ap.Col *Nihil agendo homines malè agere perdiſcunt.*

Alciat.Emb. *Segnities ſpecie recti velata cucullo,*
Non ſe, non alios vtilitate iuuat.

Pro.Gall. *Qui quitte le ieu, le perd.*

Plut.de Con *Neque eſt prudentia ſolùm* κτωμένη, *ſed &* χρωμένη: *non ſolùm* ἀυξοῦσα, *ſed &* φυλάττουσα.

Bod.rep.l.2. 2 *Nam diuturnitas temporis efficere poteſt, vt quod pernicioſo more & exemplo inueterauit, potentiùs ipſa lege dominetur.*

Tac.an.l.14. *Agros regis Apionis quondam habitos, & populo Rom. cum regno relictos, proximus quiſque poſſeſſor inuaſerant, diutinaq; iniuria & licentia, quaſi iure & æquo nitebantur.*

Bod.rep.325 *Diuturna illa præſcriptio temporum (ſine interruptione & interpellatione) legitimæ creationis vim habet.*

Charles Duke of *Orleans*, father to *Lewes* 12. preſently after the death of *Philip-Maria Viſconti*, puts in his claime to *Millan*, though he were then priſoner in *England*, and there remained fiue and twentie yeares, after the battaile of *Agencourt*, where the Engliſh had vpon the French a moſt famous victory. After his returne into *France*, in the time of *Lewes* 11. he renewes his claime. So did he againe the third time, during the raigne of *Charles* 8. And now laſtly, *Lewes* his ſonne is no ſooner come to the Crowne, but by aduice of his Councell, he proclaimes himſelfe, not onely king of *France*, but (in his right to *Naples*) King of both the *Sicils* and *Ieruſalem*, and (in right of his birth, as from the Duke of *Orleans*) he entitles himſelfe Duke of *Millan*. And ſends to the Princes of *Italie* publicke and expreſſe intimation, that he meant to purſue this his right to that Duchie.

APHO-

APHORISME IIII.

THe [1] Ethiopian Yeale hath two hornes of a cubit long, which he can in fight moue as he liſt, either both forward to offend, or both backward to defend, or the one forward and the other backward, to both vſes at once.[2] So ſhould wiſe men apply their counſels and actions, to the times: and either put forth the hornes of their power, or pull them in, as preſent occaſions are offered. For, as the Mariner changeth his courſe vpon the change of the winde and weather, yet ſtill holdeth his purpoſe of getting in to the harbrough: ſo ſhould States-men, vpon euery new occaſion alter their ſailes, and veere another way, ſtill making their courſe to the Port of the publicke good and ſafetie.

1 *Eale, magnitudine Equi fluuiatilis, cauda Elephanti, colore nigra vel fulua: maxillas Apri habens, maiora cubitalibus cornua, mobilia, quæ alterna in pugna ſiſtit, variatq; infeſta aut obliqua.* Plin. nat. hiſt. lib. 8. cap. 21

2 *Non curſum eundem tenere oportet, ſed portum.* Lip. pol. l. 4
Hominem etiam frugi ſæpe flectit occaſio. Seneca.
Conſilia ad euentus, & tempora accomodanda, & ſæpè inflectenda ſunt. Lip. an. lib. 2
Sic Poeta laudat Vlyſſem πολύτροπον, καὶ πολυμήτον. Homer. Od.
Les aduis doiuent eſtre accommodez à la neceſsité du temps. Am. Plu. Cat
Honeſtè ſeruit, qui ſuccumbit tempori. Senec Sent.
Præſentem mulge, quid fugientem perſequeris? Adag. ex Th.
Temporibus ſemper cautus ſeruire memento, Phocylid.
Nec reſtare velis aduerſum flamina venti.

Lewes 12. is reſolued to come downe into *Italy*, to recouer his right in *Naples* and *Millan*. Now the Pope ſtirred on through his owne particular ends and intereſt, which he ſaw he could not formerly effect by the quiet of *Italy*, and combination with thoſe Princes againſt *Charles* 8; deſires new troubles by this new King, and deſſeignes to further him in his warres on that ſide the mountaines. The Venetians likewiſe being freed of their former feare of the other King, for the many oppoſitions they had made, and wrongs they had done him, ſee no cauſe of diſtruſt in this *Lewes* 12; and therefore they ſend their Embaſſadours, both to

congratulate with him, and alſo to lay the foundation of ſuch an amitie and peace, as the occurrence of their affaires ſhould offer to them both. But the Florentines on the other ſide, who in the former Kings time were alwaies in ſtrict confederation with him againſt the other Italian Princes and States, finding themſelues not tied to *Lewes* 12. in any ſuch obligation of friendſhip and correſpondencie, as they were to his predeceſſor, by the treaties of *Florence* and *Aſti*; are now readie to fall from his alliance, and to combine with the Duke of *Millan:* hoping of better helpe in the neare and readie ſupplies of *Lombardie*, then in the remote and ſlow ſuccours of *France*.

APHORISME V.

AS[1] *in nature, ſo in gouernment, nothing is permanent that is violent. It is therefore hard to ſee a Tyrant olde. For though for a time he vphold his State by force and policie,*[2] *yet in the end diuine iuſtice confounds his practiſes, and infatuates his counſels, to his owne ruine and ouerthrow.*[3] *For as in that mortall warre betweene the great Elephant and poiſonfull Dragon, this one with his taile enclaſpeth that others feete, making him fall, and he in his fall burſteth himſelfe, and cruſheth that other in peeces: So when Ambition and Enuie meete as combattants in the heart of a man, he needs no outward force to aſſaile him: for the venemous taile of his Enuie entangleth the winged feete of his Ambition, making him fall, and in the fall to burſt with his owne weight.*

Auer.Metap — 1 *Violentum non eſt manſuum.*
Ariſt.phy.l.2 — *Nullum violentum eſt perpetuum.*
Auſon.fol.92 — *Fœlix criminibus nullus erit diù.*
Sarisb.l.8. — *Origo tyranni iniquitas eſt, & de radice toxicata, mala & peſtifera germinat & pullulat arbor, ſecuri qualibet ſuccidenda.*
Vell.lib.2. — 2 *Quippe ita ſe res habet, vt plerumq; qui fortunam mutaturus eſt, conſilia corrumpat, efficiatq; quod miſerrimum eſt, vt quod accidit, id etiam meritò accidiſſe videatur: & caſus in culpam tranſeat.*
Lip.pol.l.1. — *Mentem ſcilicet tunc adimit hominibus diuina illa mens.*

3 *Elephanti*

3 *Elephanti perpetua diſcordia cum Dracone: Qui ipſum circumflexu facili ambit, nexuq; nodi perſtringit. Commoritur ea dimicatione, victuſq; corruens, complexum elidit pondere.* Plin.nat.hiſt l. 8.cap. 11.

Lodowick Zforza, the poiſoner of his Nephew, Vſurper of *Millan*, and Incendiary of all *Italy*, who had kindled the fire of all the late troubles in that countrie; ſees now the Duke of *Orleans* (his competitor for *Millan*) aduanced to the crowne of *France*. He perceiues no poſſible meanes of attonement with him. He knowes by late experience, that all the States of *Italy* are not ſo auaileable for his ſafety againſt *France*, as that one of *Venice*. Yet, in emulation of her greatneſſe, that ſhe ſhould hold *Piſa*, and in enuy that ſhe ſhould reape the fruite of his long practiſes and trauailes, he ioynes at this vnſeaſonable and dangerous time with the Florentines againſt her, for the recouery of that city. Foolihly preſuming, that the warre of *Piſa* would be ended, before the French King could ſet forward: and vainely ſuppoſing that the Venetians were too wiſe, euer to condeſcend that the French army ſhould againe returne into *Italie*, to ſatisfie any grudge or wrong of their owne whatſoeuer. A fault whereof himſelfe had bene more guilty then any other. Which ill grounded deliberation of his, opened the floudgates to all his misfortunes, with the ſtreame whereof he was afterward carried priſoner into *France*, and there died a moſt miſerable exile.

APHORISME VI.

THe [1] Frogge and the Mouſe were better take vp their quarrell, then that the Kite ſhould be their vmpire. For it hath bene a practiſe as old as ſince Philip of Macedo, to nouriſh warre betweene two neighbour Princes, to the weakning one of another, that the third, a ſtronger, might take his aduantage, and ſeize vpon both. [2] It is therefore a prudent deliberation in the weaker (hauing ſmoaked his drift) to compound their difference betweene themſelues, and preuent the practiſers deſſeigned plot.

Por.in Guic. 1 *Zforzarſi con altrui ſpeſa, far la ſtrada à quanto egli con ſperanza haueua diſegnato.*

Tacit.hiſt.4. *Proinde arriperent vacui occupatos, integri feſſos: dum alij Veſpaſianum, alij Vitellium foueant, patêre locum aduerſus vtrumq;.*

Ariſtoph. *Priùs agitato & turbato ſtagno, ſic capiunt anguillas.*

Sal.de rep.or *Ita deſeſſos & exangues, prædæ futuros.*

Io.bel.Iu.l.5 *Hoſtium diſſenſionem lucrum ſibi eſſe ſentientes.*

Plutar.Alex. *Græcorumq; diſſenſio, cauſa Philippi incrementi & potentiæ.*

Alci.em.125 *Dum ſæuis ruerent in mutua vulnera telis*
Vngue leæna ferox, dente timendus aper,
Accurrit vultur ſpectatum, & prandia captat,
Gloria victoris præda futura ſua eſt.

Herodot. 2 Καταλλάσσεσθαι τὰς ἔχθρας, ἢ πρὸ κατ' ἀλλήλας ἑωυτῶν πολέμους. *i. Mutantes inimicitias & odia in concordiam.*

Polyb.l.4. *Sic Gnoſii Gortiniiq; inito inter ſe fœdere, & omnia communi conſilio agentes.*

Ioſeph. *Sic Iudæi viſis Titi caſtris in monte Oliuarum, in vnum ordinem coegêre qui antea trifariàm diuiſi: & licèt bello inteſtino ſanguis per portas Hieruſalem efflueret, contra Romanos tamen quaſi vnus vir.*

Plut.de frat. amor. *Eaq; in re par eſt imitari Cretenſes, qui crebris ſeditionibus helliſq; ciuilibus exagitati, extrinſecus aducentibus hoſtibus, pacem ac ſocietatem coiuerunt: (Hinc verbum Syncretiſmus.)*

Sharpe warres are betweene the *Orſini* and *Colonneſi*, both whoſe States confine vpon the Church. Many townes and caſtles are taken on both ſides: it comes to a day of battaile: many of them are ſlaine: their enſeignes loſt: the reſt put to rout: and *Charles Orſini* taken priſoner. The Pope interpoſeth: offereth to be vmpire in their difference: dealeth with his wonted diſſimulation and duplicitie, meaning to ſet them further out. The *Orſini* renew their forces: ſet downe before *Columbara* a ſtrong towne of the enemy: the *Colonneſi* come to the ſuccours. Here, before one blow giuen they call into ſerious conſideration the Popes double dealing: how he had firſt animated the one ſide, and then ſet on the other: giuing foment to the warre and encouragement to the ſides, with a purpoſe when they were both well waſted, to ſurpriſe both. Hereupon they come to a parley, and conclude an honourable and a profitable peace for both parties.

APHORISME VII.

SVch[1] is the force of Fate, as it can and will effect it endes, without any aſsiſtance, againſt all reſiſtance. Yet commonly it worketh not alone, it is attended with ſecond and ſubalterne cauſes, concurring in the partie himſelfe whoſe ruine is deſtined.[2] For, his counſailes and actions alwayes change with his fortunes, and make the way to his downe-fall.

1 *Fortuna omnipotens, & ineluctabile fatum.* Virg. Æn. 8
Solent quidem fata ſuis vti medijs. Mac. diſ. l. 2.
Non è coſa più difficile à ſchifare, che il fato: niſſun' rimedio è di baſtanza contra i mali determinati. Por. in Guic.
Quæ fato manent, quamuis ſignificata, non vitantur. Tacit. hiſt. 1.
Certa ſi decreta ſors eſt, quid cauere proderit? Auſ. fol. 92.
Negli animi acciecati dall' immoderata cupiditate, la Prudenza ſoffocata dalla temerità, non ha parte alcuna. Mac. diſc. l. 2.
Nec declinari tranſcendiq; poſſe agmina fati & volumina. Gell. l. 6. c. 2.
2 *Ingenia tamen mentium noſtrarum perinde ſunt fato obnoxia, vt proprietas eorum eſt ipſa qualitas: eſt enim quaſi fatale & conſequens, vt mala ingenia peccatis & erroribus non vacent.* Id. ib.
Prævalebant iam fata conſilijs, omnemq; animi eius aciem præſtrinxerant. Gell. l. 2.
Siue dolo, ſeu iam Troiæ ſic fata ferebant. Virg. Æn. 2
Crede mihi, miſeros prudentia prima reliquit,
Et ſenſus cum re conſiliumq; fugit. Ouid. Pon. l. 4

Neuer was Prince more ſecret and cautelous in his practiſes, neuer any leſſe ouuert and more fained in his amities then *Zforza*: neuer had he more neede then now of that warie proceeding, nor greater reaſon to keepe good quarter and correſpondencie with the Venetians, at leaſt not to ſharpen or exaſperate them with contumelies. Yet, contrary to his owne nature, and old wont, he breathes out many virulent opprobrious ſpeeches, he braues them with many and imperious threates: he denies their ſouldiers paſſage through the Parmeſan countrie: he cauſeth the Emperor to diſmiſſe their Embaſſadors: he ſends their enemies (the Florentines) three hundred croſſebowes on horſebacke: he ioynes with them in the charge of entertaining three hundred

hundred men at armes: he lendeth them money at ſeuerall times, to the ſumme of three hundred thouſand Duckats and vpwards: and offers more aide, as they ſhall haue neede. This diſtraction from *Venice*, and open profeſſion of oppoſition againſt her, haſtened his deſerued and deſtined ouerthrow.

APHORISME VIII.

THe [1] Monarch firſt propoundeth honour: then the publick good: and laſtly proprietary intereſt and profit. [2] But the popular State euermore inuerteth this order: For it hath priuate gaine in the firſt intention, the common good in the ſecond, and honour in the laſt. Which diuerſity of proceeding ariſeth, not out of the different formes of their gouernement, but out of their different natures that gouerne. So great oddes there is betweene a Prince and a Citizen.

Tacit. An. 4. *Cæteris mortalibus in coſtare conſilia, quid ſibi conducere putent: Principum diuerſam eſſe ſortem, quibus præcipua rerum ad famam dirigenda.*

Plut. ad imperit. ducem. *Tot tantorumq; bonorum & munerum quæ dij largiuntur, nullius eſt fructus aut vſus rectus, ſine lege, iure, & Principe. Ius, finis eſt legis: Lex, opus eſt Principis: Princeps autem imago dei omnia adminiſtrantis.*

Saluſt. Cal. *Gloriam & honorem & imperium bonus & ignauus æquè ſibi exoptant. Si bonus; vera nititur: ſed ignauus quia bonæ artes deſunt, dolis atque fallacijs contendit.*

Claudian. ad Theodo. *Nec tibi quid liceat, ſed quid feciſſe decebit*
Occurrat, mentemq; domet reſpectus honeſti.

Plaut. Mer. *Reip. cauſa qui non id facit potiùs, quàm ſui quæſti, animus haud induci poteſt eum eſſe ciuem & fidelem & bonum, ſed legirupam.*

Ariſtain. l. 1. ep. 14. 2 *Non didicit mouere puellas tibia. Quæſtui ſolo ſeruimus, non lactamur cantilenis.*

Thucyd. l. 6. *Ciuitati principatum obtinenti, nihil non honeſtum quod vtile ſit.*

Hor. ep. l. 1. *O ciues ciues, quærenda pecunia primùm eſt,*
Virtus poſt nummos.

Cic. off. l. 3. *Priuatam vtilitatem bono publico anteponunt.*

Guicci. l. 13. *Sogliono communemente più ne gli huomini ſenza comparazione, gli ſtimoli dell' intereſſe proprio, che il riſpetto del benefizio commune.*

Ouid. *Vulgus amicitias vtilitate probat.*

Quar-

Quarrels had bene long militant and on foote, betweene the two States of *Venice* and *Genoa*. For, beſides their ancient emulation and grudge, the Genoweſe were alſo of late growne iealous of the Venetians greatneſſe and neighbourhood, if they ſhould get *Piſa* into their peaceable poſſeſſion; and therefore deſired nothing more then to ſtop her courſe in that purchaſe. Yet are they content that the Venetian ſhipping employed in that ſeruice, ſhould haue harbour and reliefe vpon the coaſt of *Genoa*, paying well for it; and their Merchants trafficke and commerce with them, for ſuch commodities as they need, becauſe many priuate citizens had benefit thereby.

APHORISME IX.

THe [1] Dolphin finding himſelfe vnable to hurt the Crocodile, by reaſon of his hard ſcales which no weapon can pierce, diueth vnder him, and with his ſharpe finne ſtriketh him into the bellie being ſoft and tender, and ſo killeth him. [2] *What Nature hath taught the creature, Experience hath taught man: To ſtrike the enemy where he may be moſt hurt, and leaue things impoſſible vnattempted. For Prudence is of force, where force preuailes not.* [3] *And therefore Direction is left to the Commander, Execution to the ſouldier: who is not to aske why, but to do what he is commanded.*

1 *In ventre mollis tenuiſq; cutis Crocodilo: ideò ſe vt territi mergunt Delphini, ſubeunteſq; aluum illa ſecant ſpinâ.* Plin. nat. hiſt. l. 8. cap. 25.

2 *Nuſquam culpâ malè rem geſsit, ſemper conſilio vicit.* Prob. de Iph.
De inſtantibus atque improuiſis verè, & de futuris callidiſsimè coniiciebat. Thucyd. de
In obeundis expeditionibus, dubium cautior, an prudentior. Themiſt.
Eſſendo taſſato di non eſſer molto pugnace, riſpoſe. Che la ſua Madre l'haueua generato, non ſoldato ma Capitano. Suet. de Cæſ.
La Prudence doit conduire & manier la force. Bot. de Scip.
Plerumq; quæ ſecundùm rationem hominibus proſpera eueniunt, ſtabiliora ſunt quàm quæ præter opinionem. è Plutarch. Am. Plu Φoc Thucyd. l. 3.

3 *Parendo potiùs quàm imperia Ducum ſciſcitando res militaris continetur.* Tac. an. l. 1.
Diuiſa inter Duces Militeſq; munia: His arma & manus ſint, illis conſilium & virtutis ſuæ ſpecimen relinquant. Tac. an. l. 1.

Xenoph. Cyripæd. l. 2.
Virg. Æn. 1.
Tacit. hist. 1.

Militem priuatum non solùm debere esse ἐθελόπονον, *sed &* εὐπειθῆ τοῖς ἀρχέουσι: *i. Non solùm volentem ad subeundum, sed & promptum ad parendum.*

——Tuus ô Regina quod optes
Explorare labor, mihi iussa capessere fas est.

Tam nescire quædam milites quàm scire oportet; ita se Ducum authoritas, sic rigor disciplinæ habet: si vbi iubeantur, quærere singulis liceat, pereunte obsequio etiam imperium intercidit.

The Florentine Generall sets downe before *Casina*, leuels the ground, razeth the impeachments, and makes shew as if he would take the place, and so march directly to *Pisa*. The enemy expects no lesse, and prepares to receiue him. But he, considering the obstinate resolution of the Pisans, their valour by long practise in warre, the great forces of the Venetians ioyned with them, and the strength of their workes and fortifications about that place, holds it impregnable. He resolues rather with time to weare them out, and with stopping their succours to distresse them, then by hazard of fight to force them. Therefore he suddenly riseth from before *Casina*, marcheth ouer the hils on the right side the riuer *Arno*, to impeach all passages by land that way. He encampes before *Buti* Castle, and takes it: he builds a fort vpon the mountaine S. *Iohn della Vena*: and another vpon *Pietra Dolorosa*. He brings vnder contribution all the *Val-di Calci*. He takes by composition the fort which the Pisans had lately built vpon *Vico*: and shortly after *Vicopisano* it selfe: and lastly laies siege to *Verrucola*. In all which important seruices, not so much his souldiers readinesse in execution, as his owne prudence in direction was remarqueable.

APHORISME X.

The countrie Cormorant makes his aduantage of his poore neighbours distresse, and raiseth the market as he sees his need. So a couetous Prince will not affoord one barly corne of his assistance, at a lesse rate then one of the fairest gemmes in his neighbours Crowne. A price so high, and his necessitie so great,

as

as he can neither with his honour grant, nor with his ſafetie denie. But in ſo deſaſtrous a Dilemma as this, he is rather to ſtake all his fortunes vpon one chance of hazardous battell, then to ſhare with ſo couetous, ambitious, and falſe a friend.

1 *Inſidiantur temporibus aliena appetentes.* Lip.pol.l.4.
Proſperis tuis rebus certant ad obſequium, fortunam aduerſam omnes ex æquo detractant, Tacit.hiſt.l.2
Δρυὸς πεσούσης, πᾶς ἀνὴρ ξυλεύεται. *Ruente quercu, ligna quiuis colligit.* Schol.in Th.
Quò vtilitas vexillum ſuum prætulit & explicuit, illuc eunt. Lip.pol.l.4
Poſtulabant, non vt aſſequerentur, ſed cauſam ſeditioni. Tacit.hiſt.4.
Creſcit interea Roma Albæ ruinis. Mac.è Liui.
Sic Serpens Serpentem edit vt Draco fiat. Adag.
2 *Poſtulauit Alcibiades quæ adèo modum ſupergrederentur, vt per Athenienſes (etſi ingentibus ſanè poſtulatis acquieſcerent) staret, quo minus conueniretur.* Thucyd.l.8.

Ah nimium quod amice petis, moderatiùs opta,
Et voti queſo contrahe vela tui. Ouid.

Iuſtam rem & facilem eſſe oratam à vobis volo,
Nam iuſtè à iuſtis iuſtus ſum orator datus. Plaut.Amph

Pope *Alexander* deſires to aduance his ſonne *Cæſar Borgia* to temporall States, being now reſolued to renounce hs Cardinals hat: he ſees the great diſtreſſe of *Frederick* king of *Naples*, if he ſhould forſake him, and combine againſt him with *France*: which he threatneth to do, vnleſſe he will grant his daughter in mariage to his ſonne *Cæſar Borgia*, and the Principalitie of *Taranto* to her Dower: preſuming, if *Borgia* (of a high ſpirit and great reach) were once Lord of ſo important a member of that Realme, he might eaſily with his owne forces, and pretenſions of the Church, driue his father in law out, being ſlenderly prouided of men, worſe of money, and hauing many of the Barons ill affected, and apt to rebell againſt him. *Frederick* diſcouers the metch, and ſees the miſchiefe, which way ſoeuer he takes: therefore chuſeth rather to reiect the offer, and ſtand to the hazard, then by his owne act to be acceſſory to his owne deſtruction.

APHORISME XI.

IN moralitie, it is a greater vice to commit a wickedneſſe, then to omit the doing of a vertuous act: So in martiall gouernment, it is worſe for the ſouldier to do what he is forbidden in his owne campe, then not to do what he is commanded vpon the enemie: For this onely bereaues him of ſome faire aduantage; but that laies himſelfe open to all ambuſh and defeat.

Thucyd.l.3. Νομίζετε ἐν τοῦ καλῶς πολεμεῖν τὸ ἐθέλειν, καὶ τὸ αἰσχύνεσθαι, καὶ τὸ τοῖς ἄρχουσι πείθεσθαι. *Velle, vereri, obedire, boni militis munia.*

Veget.l.9. *Ne locum deſerant, ne ordines turbent milites.*

Idem.l.2. *Ne vltrà quàm expedit, aut conglobent agmen, aut laxent.*

Lip pol.l.5. *Cuſtodiendi milites intra limites, aliter ſolutur militia tua, immò perit.*

Valer.l.2. *Omnibus imperij neruis, ad reuocandam priſtinæ diſciplinam militiæ, debes inniti.*

Tacit.an.13. *Remedium ſeueritate quæſitum eſt, idq; vſu ſalubre & miſericordia melius apparuit: quippe pauciores illa caſtra deſeruere, quàm ea in quibus ignoſcebatur.*

Tacit.an.13. *Sic Pactium primipilum, tenere ſe munimentis & maiores copias operiri iuſſum, rupto imperio pugnantem; Corbulo increpitum Pactium, & præfectos, militeſq; tendere omnes extra vallum iuſſit; Nec niſi precibus vniuerſi exercitus exſoluti ſunt.*

Xen.inſt. Cyri. Φιλοκινδύνων μετ' εὐταξίας. *i. Periculum ſubire inſtructo ordine.*

After the Piſans victory at S. *Regolo*, their ſouldiers together with the Venetian Eſtradiots range at pleaſure vp and down the countrie, in great troupes, and greater careleſneſſe and diſorder: They conforme not themſelues to diſcipline, nor commaund of their Captaines. *Paul Vitelli* Generall of the Florentine forces eſpies the aduantage: lies in ambuſh neare *Caſina*: ſets ſuddenly vpon the Venetians, led by *Marco Martinengo*: puts them to flight, and kils many of the Eſtradiots, with *Iohn Gradenigo* Leader of their men at armes. He takes priſoner *Franco* a commander of the Eſtradiots, and a hundred horſe beſides.

APHO-

APHORISME XII.

HOpe [1] *is in the minde of man, as is the vitall ſpirit in his body: the firſt that poſſeſſeth, and laſt that leaueth the heart. But hope faſtned vpon no other ground but will, is like the Muſhromme, which ſtarteth vp in a night, and onely of all other Plants growing without roote, is eaſily blowne away, and periſheth.* [2] *So do the actions of men, built vpon this light ſand and looſe hold of wilfull hope. Becauſe it makes that ſeeme eaſie and feaſible to the eye of their imagination, which reaſon and the euent ſhewes to be moſt difficult and dangerous.*

1 *L'eſperance demeure la derniere en la boëtte de la vie humaine.* Am.Plu. Cat
Spes quæ magna ſunt, puſilla facit; quæ puſilla, prorſus nulla. Cato.in Plu.
Thales ſciſcitatus quid maximè eſſet commune omnibus? Spes, reſpondit: hanc enim etiam illi habent, qui aliud nihil. Stobæ.Serm
Spes nihil aliud quàm vigilantium ſomnium. Plato.
2 *Nec quicquam poteſt eſſe diuturnum, cui non ſubit ratio.* Vellei.l.2.
Hæc talia velut repentè fagitata deficiunt. Curt. l. 4.
Speſſo è proprio de gli Huomini, farſi facile con la voglia & con la ſperanza, quello che con la ragione cognoſcono eſſer difficile. Por.in.Guic.
——*Chè l Miſer ſuole* Arioſt. Ca.1.
Dar facil credenza a quel che vuole.
Nous embraſſons voluntiers l'eſperance, quand ell' eſt conformée à nos deſirs. Am. Plutar.
Alternant ſpeſq; timorq; fidem. Ouid.epiſt.
Cùm fallax vbi libet, tum in bello fallaciſsima ſpes eſt. Petr.dia. 12.
Nam multa præter ſpem ſcio multis bona euenisſe: S. at ego etiam qui ſperauerint ſpem decepiſſe multos. Plaut.Rud.

The ſouldiers in *Piſa* haue a great deſire to ſurpriſe and raze the fort built lately vpon *Pietra Doloroſa*; although it was ſtrengthened round about with the Florentine forces, and they vnder the command of *Vitelli*, a prudent and vigilant Chieftaine: yet they hold the enterpriſe eaſie, if the attempt be ſodaine and ſecretly carried. To this purpoſe they preſent themſelues before the place, early in the morning ere it was yet day; with two hundred light horſe, and ſome foote, (by report foure hun-

dred. They finde greater reſiſtance, and the place better fortified, then they expected. They diſcouer *Vitelli* vpon the hilles, with one part of the army coming to their ſuccours. They retire towards *Piſa*. They are met in the way by *Vitellozzo*, and followed at the heeles by *Vitelli*. Thus, hemmed in on both ſides, they are broken, many horſes loſt, and moſt of the foote cut in peeces.

APHORISME XIII.

Tateſmen muſt not alwaies be fixed in one Center of reſolution, but mooued with the turning Sphære of their Common-weale: carried alwaies to that point of the circle in their preſent occurrents, wherein their publicke profit and ſafety chiefly conſiſteth.

Cic. pro Pla. *Stare omnes debemus tanquam in aliquo orbe reip. Qui cum verſatur, eam deligere partem debemus, ad quam nos illius vtilitas, ſaluſq; conuertit.*

Tacit. An. 1. *Nouis ex rebus aucti, tuta & præſentia, quàm vetera & periculoſa mallent.*

Cic. de or l. 2 *Ad conſilium de rep. dandum, optimum eſt noſſe remp.*

Plut. de Mor *Circa bonum Prudentia quadrupliciter ſe gerit; quum aut acquirit bona, aut tuetur, aut adauget, aut prudenter vtitur. Hi prudentiæ ſunt canones, quibus ad vtramq; vtendum eſt fortunam.*

Theognis. Πολύποδος νόον ἴσχε πολύφρονος, ὅς πολὶ πέσῃ
τῇ περ ὁμιλήσῃ, τοῖος ἰδεῖν ἐφάνη. 1.
Polypodis mentem verſuti ſume, ſub omni
Qui viſu præbet ſe ſimilem lapidi.

Plut. de tran. Ὁ μὲν ἔχων εὔχεται βελτίονα, προσδοκᾷ δὲ θάτερα, χρῆται δὲ ἀμφοτέροις. *i. Sapiens meliora optat, altera quoque expectat, vtriſq; vtitur.*

Æſchilus. Ὁ χρήσιμ' εἰδὼς, οὐχ ὃ πόλλ' εἰδὼς, σοφός. *i. Qui vtilia nouit, non qui multa nouit, ſapiens eſt.*

Vlyſſ. Aiaci. *Tu vires ſine mente geris, mihi cura futuri eſt:*
Ouid. Met. *Tu pugnare potes, pugnandi tempora mecum*
Eligit Atrides: tu tantùm corpore prodes,
Nos animo: quantoq; ratem qui temperat anteit
Remigis officium, quanto eſt dux milite maior,
— Tantum ego te ſupero.

The warres betweene the Florentines and Venetians in competition for the Seignory of *Piſa*, had laſted long. In all this time

time the State of *Florence* neuer ſent any Embaſſador to *Venice*, nor ſought any accord. Partly, not to offend the French King, their confederate: partly, becauſe they found their owne forces weake, and therefore not likely to preuaile in the motion. *Charles* 8. is now dead, and their forces very great by *Zforza's* meanes: beſides they vnderſtand by the Duke of *Ferrara* and others, that the Venetians were willing to an accord, if they were ſought vnto, and treated with as ſuperiors not as equalles. The State of *Florence* altereth her former reſolution: Makes choiſe of *Guy-Antony Veſpucci* and *Barnardo Ruccellai*, two honourable perſonages, to go thither in Embaſſage. They are admitted to the preſence of the Duke and Councell, and haue audience. They excuſe their ſending no ſooner, by the quality of the times, and diuers accidents of let, in their State. They demand a finall ceſſation from warre, and that the Venetians would relinquiſh the protection of *Piſa*. They are anſwered: that if a courſe were taken, whereby the Piſans might enioy their liberty, they would make it appeare to the world, that neither deſire of dominion, nor any other particular intereſt of their owne, had cauſed them at firſt to vndertake that enterpriſe, or now to continue it longer. The Florentines can get no other anſwer: they returne: hauing thus farre ſounded the Venetians reſolution, that nothing but neceſſity could force them to quit the protection of *Piſa*.

APHORISME XIIII.

WHile [1] *the riuer runnes entire with all his water in one bed, his current is the ſwifter, and his force the greater, and danteth the moſt hardy to aduenture paſſage: But being diuided into ſeuerall ſtreames, it proones ſo ſlow and ſhallow, as it may with ſafety, and at eaſe, be waded ouer.* [2] *So is it in the current of warlike actions: Power vnited is the ſtronger, and the beſt meanes to weaken it, is by diuerſion and diſtraction into ſeuerall ſeruices.*

Rag.Stat. 1 *Come auuiene à vn fiume, che mentre corre entiero & con tutta l'acqua in vn Letto, fa con grandiſsimo impeto il ſuo corſo, & ſpauenta le città benche beniſsimo murate: ma ſe ſi diuide in più parti, perde la forza, & è paſſato à guazzo d'ogni vno. Coſi appunto le forze d'vn Eſſercito, &c.*

Par.l.2.dif.5 *Moltiplicandoſi la forza & vertù de' Motori, ſi fa il Moto maggiore.*

Tac.de Mili. Apronij. 2 *Satis validi ſi ſimul incubuiſſent, per interuallum aduentantes, neque conſtantiam addiderant turbatis, & pauore fugientium perterrebantur.*

Tac.an.l.17. *Nam Cecinna non ſimul cohortes, ſed ſingulas acciuerat: quæ res in prælio trepidationem auxit, cum diſperſos nec vnquam validos, pauor fugientium abriperet.*

Am. è Tacit. *Vitellius dum diſpergit vires (inquit Tacitus) diede ad eſſer tagliati à pezzi, & fatti prigioni i più valoroſi ſoldati ſuoi, & inſino alla morte riſoluti à morir in ſeruizio ſuo. (infert Ammiratus.)*

Pro. Lat. *Virtus vnita fortior.*

Onup. de di. *Diuidens quod vnum validiſsimum erat, vtrumq; reddidit imbecillius.*

Rom. Imp. *Dum ſinguli pugnant, vniuerſi vincuntur.*

Tacit.Agric. *Sic Horatius ſolus, vniuerſis nequaquam par, capeſsit fugam vt hoſtes ſegregaret.*

Liu.l.1.

The Florentine armie is ſtrong in the territory of *Piſa*. The Venetians find all the power they can make too weake to reſiſt them, or to force them quit the oppugnation of that city. They therefore entertaine the Duke of *Vrbine* and other Captaines in pay, with fiue hundred men at armes, to aſſaile ſome other part of the Florentine State. They deſſeigne, that *Peter Medici* with *Charles Orſini*, and *Bartholomew Aluiano*, with all their troopes, ſhall giue vpon another quarter. They earneſtly labour *Iohn Bentiuoglio*, to breake in vpon them on that ſide towards *Bologna*: and importune them of *Siena*, to grant paſſage to their forces. To the intent, that begirting the enemy thus on all ſides, they might force him to withdraw ſome of that power from the oppugnation of *Piſa*, and imploy it to the defence of other places, that they meane while might ſet vpon the reſt of the army; which now (thus vnited) was farre too ſtrong for them.

APHORISME XV.

TO nouriſh faction betweene officers in a great houſhold, or great men in a Monarchie, is no ill policie; ſo it haue his awfull limits curbed in the ſupreame power; but in a free State it is very dangerous: becauſe in ſuch a gouernment, great men of factious emulation, are like ſtrong (but contrary) windes; and the multitude is like the ſea (immoueable of it ſelfe) but ſtirred to furie and rage by others motion. The effect therefore of ſuch factions in ſuch States, is either a generall diſſipation of the whole, or a particular vſurpation of the victor.

1 *Multitudo omnis ſicut natura maris, per ſe immobilis eſt; vt venti & aurecient, ita aut tranquillum aut procellæ in vobis ſunt: & cauſa atque origo omnis furoris penes authores eſt, vos contagione inſanitis.* Liui.l.8.

Populi mobilem animum, & ſi ſe Ducem præbuiſſet, eaſdem illas adulationes pro Veſpaſiano fore. Tac.hiſt.l.3.

2 *Nobilium factiones trahunt ad ſe, & in partes, vniuerſum populum.* Ariſt.pol.l.2.

Sunt diſſipandæ magiſtratuum, & potentium factiones. Id.pol.l.5.

Alta ſedent ciuilis vulnera dextræ. Lucan.l.1.

Vſque adeò miſerum eſt ciuili vincere bello. Idem eodē.

Nec aliud diſcordantis patriæ remedium fuiſſe, quàm vt ab vno regeretur. Tacit.an.l.1.

Sic Auguſtus, cuncta diſcordijs ciuilibus feſſa, nomine Principis ſub imperium accepit. Tacit.an.1.

Sulla quod exiguum reſtabat ſanguinis vrbi —— hauſit. Lucan.l.2.

Neque alius ſolet eſſe diſcordiarum exitus inter claros & potentes viros, niſi aut vniuerſus interitus, aut victoris dominatus ad regnum. Cic.de aruſp

There is great diſcord in *Siena* betweene *Pandolpho Petrucci* on the one ſide, and *Nicholas Borgheſi* with the family *Belanti* on the other. Theſe would haue paſſage granted through their State, to the Duke of *Vrbine* and his forces, which came on the Venetians behalfe to make warre vpon *Florence*. The greater part of the citizens bandie on this partie, being drawne by their dependance on theſe Noblemen, and by their inueterate hatred to the Florentines. *Petrucci* withſtands them with ſtronger forces of reaſon, but weaker power of partizans and adherents.

He ſends ſecretly for his friends and followers out of the countrey: he procures the Florentines to ſend three hundred men at armes, and a thouſand foote to *Poggibonſi*, a place of theirs vpon the frontiers of *Siena*. VVith the reputation of theſe forces, and aſſiſtance of his friends in the citie, he forceth his oppoſites to condeſcend to a peace with *Florence* for fiue yeares. By this accord being growne more powerfull, he killeth *Borgheſi*, terrifieth the reſt, and aſſures himſelfe in the tyrannous vſurpation of *Siena*.

APHORISME XVI.

AS I we feele more ſenſible comfort of the Suns heate when we are cold: So, the greater our extremitie is in any danger, the greater we hold the power by which we are relieued: 2 *attributing that to fortune and miracle, which is in nature.* 3 *Yet is it moſt true, that all ſuch operations (though naturall) are guided and diſpoſed by a ſupernaturall prouidence, which prepareth and diſpoſeth the Obiect to the preſent Influence.*

Canon Log. 1 *Paſsio recipitur, non tam per conditionem agentis, quàm diſpoſitionem patientis.*

Scal.ex.16. *Receptiuum non recipit per modum imprimentis, ſed per modum receptiuitatis.*

Gell.l.14.c.1. 2 *Eædem ſtellæ non vſquequaque pruinas aut calores cient, ſed mutant & variant, tempeſtateſq́, eodem in tempore alibi placidas alibi violentas mouent: Cur non euentu quoque rerum ac negotiorum, alia efficiunt in Chaldæis, alia in Getulis, alia apud Danubium, alia apud Nilum?*

Bod.rep.4. *Et caſus imprudentiæ ſuccurrit, vt pictori quondam equum pingenti, cum ex tædio ſpongia in opus impacta eſſet, quod ars imitari non potuerat, caſus expreſsit.*

Suet.in Do. *Sic ipſa dimicationis hora, reſolutus repentè Rhenus, cum tranſituras ad Antonium copias Barbarorum inhibuiſſet, mira fælicitate Domitianum abſentem victorem fecit.*

Flor.l.4. *Victoriam illi prælio error dedit.*

Plaut. *Centum doctùm hominum conſilia, ſola hæc deuincit dea. (Fortuna.)*

Plato. Στρατηγικὴ τέχνη εὐτυχίας πλείστης δεομένη. *Ars militaris plurimùm à fortuna dependet.*

Exiſtimo

Existimo olim Maximo, Marcello, Scipioni, Mario, & cæteris magnis Imperatoribus, non solùm propter virtutem, sed etiam propter fortunam, sæpius imperia mandata atque exercitus esse commissos. Cic. pro leg. Manil.

3 —Iddio
Ha sotto i piedi il fato, e la natura,
Ministri humili, e'l moto, e che'l misura. Tasso. cant. 9

Prouidentia omnia inferiora reguntur. Fici. in Plat.

Non hæc sine numine Diuûm —— eueniunt. Virg. Æn. 2.

Non hæc humanis opibus, non arte magistro
Proueniunt, maior agit Deus. Vir. Æn. l. 12

——Deum namque ire per omnes
Terras q; tractus q; maris, cœlum q; profundum. Virg. geor. 4.

Vt hominum membra, mente ipsa & voluntate mouentur: Sic numine Deorum omnia finguntur, mouentur, atque mutantur. Cic. nat. Deor. l. 3.

Peter and *Iulian Medici* take the Borrough of *Marradi*, a towne belonging to the Florentine State, seated vpon the *Appennine*, neare *Romagna*. They encampe before the rocke *Castiglone*, standing right ouer the towne: a peece by situation impregnable; yet they are in hope presently to carrie it for want of water, whereof they within had none at all, by reason of the height of the place, and hardnesse of the flint it stood vpon. They are in tearmes to render; when sodainly there fals such wonderfull store of raine, as all the cisternes and vessels they haue are filled. The assailants disappointed of their hopes by this sodaine accident, and now in despaire to carrie the place, rise vp from the siege, and depart. On the other side that State, towards the neather sea, falls out another strange accident. *Paul Vitelli* sets downe before *Librafatta*, plants his artillerie: makes a breach so assaultable, as he doubts not the next morning to carrie the towne. The same night, by chance falls downe an arch of the wall, which filled the breach, and raised the rampart two ells higher then it was before. So as, after three daies triall to get it by Scalada, and much hurt receiued in his armie by a peece from the towne, he despaires of succesſe, and is vpon rising. When sodainly a shot made at randon into the towne, dismounts that Peece, and kils the Cannonier; wherepon the besieged call a parley, and yeeld.

APHORISME XVII.

THe [1] *Sunne ſhineth brighteſt through a vapour diſperſed, and vertue ſhewes her beſt luſtre vpon an encounter. Men therefore that would ſtand before others in glorie, muſt ſtriue to breake through the miſtie clouds of all paſsions and perturbations, that their vertue may ſhine aboue others in worth. Such contention as this, (to be beſt) is the whetſtone and ſpurre to courage and wel-deſeruing.* [2] *But an emulation to be firſt, is the Remora of all good ſeruice.*

Bod.rep.l.4. 1 *La Vertu n'a iamais ſon luſtre, s'elle n'eſt pas combattue: & l'homme ne ſe monſtre iamais vertueux, ſi non alors qu'il eſt picqué d'honeſte ambition, pour faire de beaux & grands exploits, & touſiours pour l'vtilité publique.*

Bod.rep.l.5. *Les partialitez que tu nous reproches ſont vtiles au publique: Car nous debatons à qui mieux, pour vaincre ſon ennemi, en mieux faiſant.*

Lip.an.l.3. 2 *Semper ita euenit, vt ſint inter collegas æmulationes: Quæ deponendæ ſunt, aut ſaltem ſeponendæ, Ariſtidis & Themiſtoclis exemplo.*

Tacit.hi.l.14 *Iulius Claſsicianus Suetonio diſcors, bonum publicum priuatis ſimultatibus impediebat.*

Rag.Stat.l.3 *Periculoſa coſa è l'inuidioſa diſtribuzione della gratia, & dello ſproportionato honore.*

Ouid.Met. *Sic ego torrentem quà nil obſtabat eunti,*
Leniùs & modico ſtrepitu decurrere vidi:
At quacunque trabes obiectaq́, ſaxa tenebant,
Spumeus & feruens, & ab obice ſæuior ibat.

Ammirat.l.2 *Æmulatio quæ ex contentione procedit quis eorum ſit maior, (& præcedentia vocatur) inter Duces exitiabilis, maximiſq́, negotijs nihil magis nocet.*

Liui.lib.10. *Ex diſcordia Conſulum mala quæque in adminiſtratione rerum militarium euenire, & propè ad vltimum diſcrimen ſuis & collegæ certaminibus nuper ventum.*

Ammirat.l.2 *Remedium Tiberij huic morbo, vt non pares, ſed titulis & authoritate differentes mitterentur.*

The Duke of *Millan* entertaines the Marquis of *Mantoa* and his men at armes: a braue ſouldier, and renowmed commander; whoſe worth and reputation iuſtly purchaſed in the warres, was likely to aduance much his affaires in *Piſa*. He, among other conditions, aſſures the Marquis in the word of a Prince, to make him Generall

Generall of all his army, within three moneths after. The time is expired: promiſe is not kept: becauſe the Duke would not diſplace nor diſpleaſe *Galeazzo da San-Seuerino*, a man greater with him in fauour then in deſert, who ſtrongly oppoſed the Marquis, not able to endure a Corriuall. The Marquis holdes himſelfe wronged, his worth vnderualued, and his ſeruice vnrewarded. He leaues the Duke (to the hinderance of that ſeruice) and reſolues to returne to the Venetians pay, who greatly deſired it, and at this time and in this affaire of *Piſa*, were *Zforzas* profeſſed enemies.

APHORISME XVIII.

IT were better not to make lawes againſt the abuſes of the times, or corruption of mens manners, then being made, and broken, not to put them in execution. For, this maketh euery priuate mans offence, the ſinne of the publick. Becauſe, to omit the puniſhment thereof, is to commit it.[2] *Wherefore, direction for ſuppreſsing a conſpiracy, and puniſhing the offenders according to law, is not onely fruitleſſe, but dangerous, when the execution both of the one and the other proceedes not ſpeedily: being miſled by a credulous negligence, and miſcarried by a fooliſh lenity. For, there is a cruelty in ſome kind of mercy, though there be no mercy in cruelty.*

1 *Sono inutili i conſigli dilligenti & prudenti, quando l'eſſecuzione procede con Negligenzia, & con Imprudenzia.* — Por. in Guic.

2 *Neque è periculo Principis fama clementiæ affectanda.* — Tacit. hiſt. 2.

Næ iſta manſuetudo & miſericordia illi in miſeriam vertat. — Saluſt. Catil.

Tales iſti abſcindendi: non tam vlciſcendi cauſa, quàm vt in præſens ſceleratos ciues timore ab impuganda Patria deterreas, & in poſterum documentum ſtatuas, ne quis talem amentiam velit imitari. — Cic. ad Brut.

Supplicium de ijs ſumendum: non tam vt ipſi pereant, quàm vt alios pereundo deterreant. — Sene. de ira.

Debitas pœnas dabit: Lentum eſt dabit. Dat: hoc quoque lentum eſt: dedit. — Sen. Her fu.

Seram poſt ſcelus veniam quærebat. — Plu. de Doll.

Conſulere ſecuritati iuſta vltione, & modicis remedijs primos motus conſediſſe. — Tac. Ann. 14.

Seneca Sent *Nisi vindices delicta, improbitatem adiuues.*
Seneca Sent *Qui culpæ ignoscit vni, suadet pluribus.*
Adag. *Est quædam crudelis misericordia.*

The fauourers of *Peter Medici* had conspired the betraying of *Bibiena*, a castle of much importance in the Casentine countrie: the Florentines haue some inckling hereof by a generall buzze there was of some such plot, but more particular and certaine notice by letters of aduice from *Bologna*. To preuent this mischiefe, they send a gouernor thither, with directions to attach the practisers, and assure the place. He apprehends many of them: and foolishly trusting their protestations, sets them free againe. He appoints no Guards at the portes: and suffers them to be opened euery morning, as early as they were wont to be in times of no suspition. *Aluiano*, who entertained the plot with the conspirators in the towne, and had daily intelligence from them, sends certaine horsemen, in the habit of Victuallers, to march before: they trauaile all night, and come to the place, iust at the opening of the port. They possesse themselues of it without any resistance: other troopes of horse come presently after, and giue out that they were friends of *Vitellies* companies, (the Florentine Generall:) the conspirators within the towne seeing their friendes come, rise in armes, ioyne with them, and make themselues masters of the place.

APHORISME XIX.

The [1] furious courser breaketh his winde, and burſteth himſelfe in the middeſt of his carreer: whereas the Snaile comes to the toppe of the hill in her due time as well as the Eagle. With time and ſtraw men ripen medlars, and their affaires with leiſure and meanes. [2] Wherefore he that will do a thing well, muſt haue patience to tarry till it may be well done. For, it hurteth as much to anticipate the occaſion, as to fore-ſlow it being offered: And to pluck

pluck her as fruite before she be ripe, harmeth as much as to suffer her rotte: Men of hotte spirits erre in the first; for scarce do they perceiue the shadow of her, but they runne to catch at it, and thinking to take hold of the solide substance, embrace nothing but the emptie aire. Whereas the wary and well aduised Commander, holdes it safer to weary and weare out the enemy by cunctation and delay, then to put all to hazard by hast: In this is danger, in that a Fabian vertue.

1 *Dum festino omnia celeriter percurrere, tardior sum.* Plat. rep. 7.
Perdre l'haleine au milieu de la carriere. Pro. Gall.
Con tempo & con la paglia maturano le nespole. Pro. Ital.

2 *Scito militibus cupidinem pugnandi conuenire: Duces prudentia, consultando, cunctatione, sæpiùs quàm temeritate prodesse.* Tac. hist. l. 3.
Vnus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem. Cic. ex Enni.
Non minùs est Imperatoris, consilio superare, quàm gladio. Com è Liui.
Contator natura, vt cui cauta potiùs consilia cum ratione, quàm prospera ex casu placerent. Tac. de Sue. Paulino.
Non stimaua egli le parole altrui, doue n'andasse l'interesse publico & la salute della Patria: ne si curaua che la cautela si chiamasse timidità, ô la consideratione tardanza, ô la disciplina dappocaggine: Et voleua anzi esser temuto dal sauio nemico, che lodato da' pazzi Cittadini. Boter. de fab Max. è Liuio
Fabio Massimo aspettando con Pazienza, la buona occasione del combattere, sosteneua le parole sconcie, che di lui si diceuano: Non rispondendo altro, che haueua per più vile, chi temeua i maledici, che chi fuggiua da' nemici: Perche questo fuggiua da' fatti, & quello solamente dalle parole. Lotti. auuert 406.
Fabius nouam de Hannibale victoriam commentus est, Non pugnare: vt qui frangi virtute non poterat, morâ comminueretur. Hinc illi Cognomen nouum & reip. salutare, (Cunctator.) Florus. l. 2.

Vn capitano, che d'inclito e di saggio
E di Magno, e d'inuitto il nome merta,
Non dico per ricchezza ô per linaggio
Ma perche spesso habbia fortuna esperta:
Non si suol mai fidarsi sul vantaggio
Che la vittoria si prometta certa:
Sta sempre in dubbio, ch'hauer debbia cosa
Da ripararsi il suo nemico ascosa Ari. Cant. 51.

Aluiano with the Florentine exiles are strong in the Casentine Prouince: For besides *Bibiena*, they haue taken in many other places. The Duke of *Vrbine*, *Charles Orsini*, and other Leaders, with seuen hundred horse, and sixe thousand foote, are ioyned with him. The State of *Florence* calles hither *Paule Vitelli* their Generall,

rall, from the ſeruice of *Piſa*, to oppoſe againſt theſe ſo great forces, and preuent this more imminent danger. He is come: determines to follow his old wont, of tyring and wearing out the enemy with time, conſidering that the countrie was mountaynous, the Peſants readie to take euery leaſt aduantage vpon them, and that *Arezzo* was aſſured with a ſtrong Garriſon, vnder the gouernement of *Count Rinuccio*: So as he need not feare any matter of great import to be attempted by them, to whom it would be hard to ſtay, and and more difficult to do any good by ſtaying. And therefore he reſolues not to put his whole army and maine of thoſe warres, vpon one daies triall. But he ſtoppes the paſſages of the mountaines, and other places of the country with his Guardes, Sconces, Rentrenchments, and other fortifications. The enemy by this meanes is brought into great extremity, and deſpaires of ſuccours, or preuailing with thoſe he had. He ſteales away by whole troopes: and in thoſe places and ſtreights is ſtript and ſlaine, by the ſouldiers of *Vitellis* army, or the peſants of the countrie.

APHORISME XX.

HE that giueth life to the law, may giue life forfaited by the law: he may pardon the offence, though he cannot wipe off the guilt. But vntill a law be abrogated by the ſame power it was eſtabliſhed, he can neither diſanull the force, nor warrant the fact: Much leſſe can man diſpenſe with the lawes diuine, or warrant and approue what they condemne. Wherefore the Sea of Rome where all things are vendible, and nothing vnlawfull that is not vnprofitable, daſheth againſt this rock. For it bindeth and looſeth, giueth and taketh away, inueſteth and againe deueſteth, ſo it be for promotion and preferment: Diuorces without iuſt cauſe, and diſpenſations againſt diuine lawes are granted, in caſe the Grantee will pay well for the purchaſe.

Ariſt. Rh. l. 2. Πάντα ὤνια τοῦ πλέτε. *Omnia venalia Nummis.*

Aurea

Aurea nunc verè ſunt ſecula, plurimus auro Ouid.
Vænit honos, auro conciliatur amor.
Haud facilè emergunt quorum virtutibus obſtat Iuuen.Sat.3
Res angusta domi: ſed Romæ durior illis
Conatus.—
O eſſecrabil auarizia, ô ingordo Arioſt.cã.34
Fame d'hauere: io non mi merauiglio
Ch'ad alma vile, e d'altre macchie lorda,
Si facilmente dar poſsi di piglio.
Curia pauperibus clauſa eſt; dat cenſus honores, Ouid.am.3.
Inde grauis Iudex, inde ſeuerus Eques.
Quid ſatis eſt ſi Roma parum? Lucan.l.5.
Vnde habeas quærat nemo, ſed oportet habere. Iuue.Sat.14.
Quandoquidem inter nos (n.Romæ) ſanctiſsima diuitiarum — maieſtas. Iuuen.Sat.1.
Vrbem venalem, ſi emptorem inuenerit. Saluſt.Iug.
Cuidam in quiete oſtenſum — Innocentium quartum apud ſummum Iudicem Mat.Paris.
accuſari, quòd Eccleſiam conuertiſſet in menſam nummulariorum.
Omne Papale negotium manus agunt. Idem.
Hadrianus Pontifex, non modò magiſtratus & imperia, ſed etiam ſacerdotia Bodin.l.6.
ſub hasta venire paſſus eſt.

Pope *Alexander* hath promiſe from *Lewes* 12. that he will effect the mariage betweene *Cæſar Borgia* and *Charlotta*, daughter to *Frederick* king of *Naples*, who was brought vp in the French Court. A match, to which both father and ſonne vpon ambitious ends greedily aſpired. Vpon this hope *Borgia* comes into the Conſiſtory, makes ſute to his father the Pope, and whole Colledge of Cardinals, that whereas he neuer had minde to any Eccleſiaſticall function, he might be permitted to renounce his Hat and habit of Cardinallat. It is granted him. He puts on in their preſence a Secular robe; and of a Cardinall and Archbiſhop of *Valencia*, becomes entitled Duke *Valentinois*, and ſouldier of the French king, with command of one hundred Lances, and twentie thouſand Frankes of yearely entertainment. Again; the French king deſires to be diuorced from his lawfull wife, the ſiſter of *Charles* 8. (ſhe was crook-backed) and to be diſpenſed withall for marying of *Anne* Ducheſſe and heire of *Bretagne* (ſhe had a great eſtate) The Sea of *Rome* grants both: prouided that the King giue the Pope thirtie thouſand Duckats: helpe him to

recouer the abſolute dominion of *Romagna*: further the match betweene *Borgia* and *Ciarlotta:* and entertaine him with a yearely and honourable penſion.

APHORISME XXI.

HE[1] *that propounds an affaire to his inward friend, would be aduiſed. He that imparts a reſolued buſineſſe, would haue it concealed. In the firſt caſe, the Counſellor muſt vnlocke his heart: in the other he muſt ſeale vp his lippes.*[2] *For it is dangerous to be of a great mans counſaile, and not to keepe it.*

Paſch. Leg. cap. 21. 1 *Atque adeò quàm non ſint retegenda illa quæ Princeps vult eſſe tecta, in ipſis priſcarum fabularum inuolucris explicitum eſt: nam & Thamyris à Muſis, & Tireſias à Pallade excæcati ſunt: Marſias ille hiſpidus & multibarbus ab Apolline excoriatus, & Lini temeritas morte punita.*

Caſſiod. l. 8. *Alexander, cum arcanas quaſdam literas Hæpheſtioni legiſſet, detractum digito annulum ori eius admouit.*

Remig. Flor. è Plutarch. *Philippide domandato da Liſimacho Re; qual maggior fauore gli poteſſe fare, perche cognoſceſſe quanto l'amaua: riſpoſe, Che tu non mi communichi alcuno di tuoi ſegreti.*

Paſch. Legat Ex Ammirat *Principes non aliter videri volunt, quàm qua forma ſeſe aſpiciendos præbent.*

Non ſalti il Cuor fuor delle Labbre ignudo,
Che mal può ricuoprir Elmo ô Scudo.

Iuuen. Sat. 3. *Scire volunt ſecreta domus, atque inde timeri.*

Am. è Soph. *Gran ſilentio è gran pondo a ſoſtenerlo.*

Lip. pol. l. 3. *Conſiliarij arcani eſſe debent, nec tamen arcanorum ſcrutatores.*

Tacit. an. l. 3. *Abditos Principis ſenſus, & ſi quid occultius parat exquirere, anceps, periculoſum.*

Iuuen. Sat. 1. 2 *Digito compeſce labellum:*
Accuſator erit qui verbum dixerit, hic eſt.

Suet. in Tib. *Tiberius ex viginti conſiliarijs vix duos aut tres incolumes præſtitit.*

Idem. *Thraſyllum ſecretorum temerè conſcium, in mare præcipitare deſtinat.*

Plut. de curi. *Quæ ſuauiſsima & pulcherrima habent reges, ea conſpectui ſunt expoſita: cœnæ, opes, beneficia: ſi verò arcani quid eſt, caue acceſſeris aut moueris.* μὴ προσέλθῃς, μηδὲ κινήσῃς.

Ouid. *Lingua fuit damno, lingua faciente loquaci,*
Qui color albus erat, nunc eſt contrarius albo.

Iuuen. Sat. 3. *— Tanti tibi non ſit opaci,*
Omnis arena Tagi — vt à magno ſemper timearis amico.

Duke

Duke *Valentinois* is ſent into *France* with a Cardinals hat, to *George* of *Amboiſe* Archbiſhop of *Rouen*. He followes his fathers principles of craft and ſubtiltie: for, hauing likewiſe brought with him a Bull of diſpenſation for the Kings mariage with the daughter and heire of *Bretagne*; he pretends to haue brought no ſuch matter: hoping that the Kings deſire to haue it, would worke him the ſooner and better to his proper ends, rather then the memory thereof, when he had once got it. Onely the Biſhop of *Septa*, the Popes *Nuntio* in *France*, knew the ſecret, and reueales it cloſely to the King. The King without any farther vrging to haue it (being as he thought all one towards God, ſince it was granted) preſently conſummates the mariage. *Valentinois* when he ſaw no other remedy, deliuers it, and ſhortly after cauſeth the *Nuntio*, by whom it came to light, to be poiſoned.

APHORISME XXII.

THere is a law of Nature, another of Societie, a third of Armes, a fourth of Nations, a fift of State. And each of theſe in their order bridle and reſtraine one another with certaine cautions and prouiſoes. For, though the arbitration of a third man betweene two parties in difference, either comes not within compaſſe of thoſe former lawes, or elſe is permitted without limitation of circumſtance, yet the law of State allowes it not, but with this reſtriction, Neuer to referre any matter of great importance to one much mightier then thy ſelfe; as doubtfull of his indifferencie, and fearfull of his greatneſſe.

La Natural ragione dalla ciuile, & la ciuile dalla Militare, & quella dalla ragione delle Genti, & queſta da quella dello Stato, non ſcapeſtratamente, ma con alcuni freni & ritegni ſi confina. Am. in Tacit. l. 11.

In niuna coſa più ſi paleſa quanto vaglia vn Prencipe, che nelle propoſte che gli ſi fanno: nelle quale ſe non ſi ſta accorto, ſi poſſono pigliare grandiſsimi errori. Id. lib. 6.

Si ha à por mente à colui, il quale propone ô conſiglia alcuna coſa, ſe in quel conſiglio ſi tratta del pericolo del proponente, ô del vtile & benefizio di colui à chi ſi propone. Idem ibid.

Dion.Halyc. Epichar. Xenoph.l.3. *Regum Pactiones sunt* ἀπατηλοὶ ἐν ὁμολογίαις.

Sobrius esto, & memineris diffidere.

Minimè debes ambigere, licet ad agendam causam tibi descendere (ait Cyrus:) τίς δὲ ὁ δικάζων; i. *Sed quis Iudex?* (inquit Armenius) *Is cui potestas ex arbitrio suo te tractandi,* (respondet Cyrus.)

Æsop.fa.70 *Hei mihi* (inquit Vulpes Rubo) *confugi ad te tanquam ad auxiliatorem, sed tu peiùs me tractàsti: Heus tu* (inquit Rubus) *errasti, qui me apprehendere voluisti, qui omnes apprehendere soleo.*

Iustin.l.8. *Fratres duo, reges Thraciæ, disceptationum suarum iudicem Philippum eligunt: Qui more ingenij sui ad iudicium veluti ad bellum, inopinantibus fratribus, instructo exercitu superuenit, & regno vtrumque non iudicis more, sed fraude latronis ac scelere, spoliauit.*

The French King holding it needfull to combine with the two enemie-States, *Venice* and *Florence*, labours them both to set aside all quarrels concerning *Pisa*, and to referre the matter to him. *Florence* holds his alliance necessary, but remembers withall how his predeceſſor dealt with her about the same busineſſe and towne: and doubting like measure, will not referre the transaction of the cause to him, except meane while the citie be put in *depoſito*, into the hands of *Paul Vitelli*. The Venetians are likewiſe willing to embrace his friendſhip, (if it were to no other end but to reuenge themſelues of the wrongs offered by the Duke of *Millan*) but yet they peremptorily denie to yeeld to his arbitration: affying better in the Duke of *Ferrara* for an honourable end, and reſtitution of their expences in the warre; who had vndertaken (if both patts were ſo pleaſed) to compromit in that matter, and take vp the difference betweene them.

APHORISME XXIII.

A *Staffe is easily found to beate a dogge: and a ſmall quarrell will ſerue againſt him, whoſe fortunes are in their ebbe of declination. For, where there is no feare of reuenge, there is little conſcience of offence:* 2 *Eſpecially in the auaricious and greedie minded man, in whom many fauors receiued, are not ſo ſtrong to make him ſure vnto thee, as one ſmall requeſt refuſed, to caſt thee off.*

1 *Facilè*

1 *Facilè inuenias baculum quo canem cædas.* Pro. Lat.
An non vides hunc ansam quærere, rescindendæ irritandæq; pactionis? Plaut.
Secundis rebus labefactatis, quàm formidatus anteà est, tam contemnetur. Saluſt. hiſt. 1
Nunc quia contraxit vultum fortuna, recedis,
Auxilio postquam scis opus esse tuo. Ouid.

2 *Nullum est officium tam sanctum atque solenne, quod non auaritia comminuere ac violare potest.* Cic. pro Quint.
Ἡ φιλαργυρία τὸ κεφαλαίον ἔστι κακῶν. *Auaritia malorum caput.* Appollinar.
Τῶ κερδεῖ γὰ ἡ σοφία δέδεται. *Lucrum superat Sapientiam.* Pindar.
Auaritia, fidem, probitatem, cæteraſq; artes bonas subuertit: & ambitio multos mortales falsos fieri subegit. Saluſt. Cat.
— Pereunt discrimine nullo Lucan. l. 3
Amissæ leges, sed pars vilissima rerum
Certamen mouistis opes. —

The King of Romans enters *Burgundy* in armes, in defence of his Sonne the Archduke of *Austria*, against the French King. The Duke of *Millan* supplies him with great summes of money, vpon hope, that either that warre would diuert the French from the enterprise of *Italy*, or else, if there were peace made betweene them, that then himselfe should be comprised, as the Emperor had faithfully promised him. After many motions and treaties, the King concludes a peace with the Archduke who was likewise Duke of *Burgundy*, and capitulates to render him all the townes he held of his in *Artois*. The Emperor likewise takes a Truce with the King, for many monethes, without any comprisall of the Duke of *Millan*: pretending a great displeasure against him, because he had not from time to time satisfied his infinite and immoderate pressings for money.

APHORISME XXIIII.

THe name of Equality truly vnderstood, is one of the most iust and profitable things, that is in a State: namely, when it is taken in a Geometricall sense and proportion. For as in matter of taxe or imposition, the best leuy is not by the pole, but according to euery mans hability; and as in conferring of dignities and

offices, the beſt choiſe is according to euery mans worth and ſufficiency for the place: So in the deliberation of State affaires and deciſion of doubts of greateſt conſequence, the ſoundeſt iudgement ſhould haue the greateſt ſtroke: and voyces ſhould be conſidered, not by the number, but by the weight [2] *But in free States, plurality of voyces ouerſwayes the ſtrongeſt and beſt grounded reaſons. And therefore this forme of gouernement cannot be ſo good, as that of a Monarchie.*

Sympoſ. l. 8. Lip. pol. l. 3.
1 *Deum ſemper γεωμετρεῖν: inquit Plato.*
Hic, non tam appenduntur, quàm numerantur ſententiæ.

Plut. Symp. l. 8.
Lycurgus Arithmeticam proportionem, vt popularem & turbæ aptam, Lacedæmone eiecit: Geometricam verò vt paucorum modeſto imperio, & legitimo regno conuenientem, introduxit: Quippe, illa numero æquale omnibus tribuit, hæc ratione, cuique id quod meretur: Non ſorte aut libra, ſed diſcrimine virtutis, aut vitij.

Liui. bel. Ma
Communem ſe relationem de ea re fieri non paſſuros, ne par honos in diſpari merito eſſet.

Thucyd. l. 2.
Honores prout quiſque aliquod ſui ſpecimen dederit: neque ijs qui ex certa parte ciuium ſunt, potius quàm ex virtute.

Plut. de lib. Educ.
Τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀρέσκειν, τοῖς σοφοῖς ἔστιν ἀπαρέσκειν. *i. Quod placet vulgo, ſapientibus diſplicet.*

Seneca.
Quæ ego ſcio non probat Populus: Quæ Populus probat ego neſcio.

Plut. de virt. Por. in Guic.
Chorus eius maior eſt, meus melius concinit.
2 *Il popolo più ſi gouerna con la volontà, che con la ragione.*

Ari. Can. 28.
Il volgo ignorante ogni vn riprende,
E parla più di quel, che meno intende.

Thucyd. l. 1.
Et quum in ſuffragijs dandis omnes ſint æquales, ſuo quiſque commodo vacant, ex quo nihil perfecti effici ſueuit.

Perſius.
Mille hominum ſpecies, & rerum diſcolor vſus,
Velle ſuum cuique eſt, nec voto viuitur vno.

Hor. 2. ſer. 2.
Tres mihi conuiuæ propè diſſentire videntur,
Poſcentes vario multùm diuerſa palato.

The French King ſeekes the amity and confederation of the Venetians, in his warre againſt *Millan*. He offers them *Cremona*, and *Ghiaradadda*, for their ſhare of the conqueſt. It is debated in Councell whether to combine with him, or no. *Antony Grimany*, a man of great authority among them, opineth for the affirmatiue: prooues the action to be lawfull, in reuenge of *Zforzas* ingratitude to this State, and obſtinate oppoſition in the cauſe of *Piſa*, againſt it: prooues it honourable, becauſe the world might

ſee,

ſee that this Common-wealth aimes not at baſe and vulgar endes, but for the preſeruation of her honour and reputation: to be expedient, that the repentance of him who had wronged *Venice* ſo much, might be an example to others not to dare to prouoke her: to be profitable, by the accrewment of two ſo faire Eſtates to the Venetian dominion, as *Cremona* and *Ghiaradadda*: to be neceſſary for the preuention of *Zforzas* plots and machinations againſt this State, in caſe the French expedition went not forward: to be eaſie, by reaſon of the combination of two ſo great powers, againſt one onely Duke: And finally to be without danger after the end of the warres, both by the generall reſiſtance the King ſhould finde in all the Princes of *Italy*, (if he ſhould attempt any further,) and by the naturall diſpoſition of the French nation, a people apter to get, then to hold what they haue gotten. *Marchione Treuiſano* a man of reputed vertue and iudgement, redargues what is ſaid, and ſtands for the negatiue. His reaſons: that it is imprudence, not to moderate reuenge (though vpon neuer ſo iuſt cauſe) with maturity of reaſon and conſideration of the publick good: that it is ſcandalous for *Venice* to call in a forreine Prince, who had lately profeſſed her ſelfe *The deliuerer of Italy from the French*: that it is dangerous to haue a great King quietly poſſeſſed of *Millan*, being a State ſo neere their doores, when as hauing formerly but got *Naples*, remote from them and leſſe to be feared, as alſo farther diſtant from *France*, and harder to be kept, yet *Venice* and almoſt all Chriſtendome were forced through feare, to enter into confederation againſt him. To be vnprofitable; for in time of warres they are neereſt to be troubled, and in time of peace they muſt alwaies be ſuſpitious, and ſtand vpon their Guard, maintaining their Frontires at exceſſiue charges: that it is preiudiciall to the State, for neither will the Duchie of *Millan* long ſuffer the alienation of two ſo faire mẽbers thereof, as *Cremona* and *Ghiaradadda*, neither will the Emperor and Dutch nation ſit ſtill, who pretend them to be parcelles of the Imperiall Iuriſdiction. And to be feared in concluſion, leaſt the French and Emperor ioyne both

againſt

againſt them, holding ſo much land as they do already, belonging to the houſe of *Auſtria*. Therefore, it is neither wiſedome, nor glory, nor profit, nor ſafety, to purchaſe the ſweete fruites of reuenge with the manifeſt hazard of the whole State: wherein they muſt either be maſters of all, or loſers of all: Which whether be more likely, he referres to the L L^s. of the Senate. This opinion maintained with theſe and other weighty reaſons, and approued of the grauer and wiſer ſort, was ouerſwayed by number, and the contrary carried by voices through hate and ambition.

APHORISME XXV.

Great affaires require many heads to aduiſe, and many hands to effect. One braine is not capable of ſo great a charge, one arme vnſufficient for ſo inſupportable a burthen. [2] *A Prince therefore ought not to ſtand ſo ſtiffe in his owne opinion, though grounded vpon probable ſuppoſition, as not to yeelde to his faithfull Counſailors, vpon more forcible and demonſtratiue reaſons. For, he that refuſeth all counſaile is worſe then a beaſt: he that needeth none, is more then a man.*

Tac. hiſt. l. 1. 1 *Non eſt vnius mens tantæ molis capax.*

Velle. l. 12. *Magna negotia magnis adiutoribus egent.*

Comic. Græ 2 *Conſultor ille ſit tibi vir qui ſapit,*
—— Sapientis enim conſilia ſapientia.

Macc. princ. cap. 22. *Triplex natura ingeniorum hominum: vnum per ſe intelligit; alterum, quum fuerit ei demonſtratum; tertium, quod ne admonitum quidem, nedum per ſe id præſtare poteſt. Primum illud maximè excellit: quod huic additur excellit quidem: at quod tertium eſt prorſus inutile eſt.*

Salina. apud Plutar. *Nemo fideliùs dare poteſt conſilium, quàm qui id alteri ſuaderet, quod ipſe ſi in eodem loco eſſet facturus fuerit.*

Bodin. l. 3. *Dubitatur an præſtabilior Princeps ſapientiſſimus ſine conſilio; an ſtupidus prudentium Senatorum multitudine abundans. Sapientibus quidem neutrum horum probatur.*

Idem. fo. 303 *Palladem Ioui decumbenti aſsidere: Sc. Senatum Principi adeſſe oportere.*

Vir. Æn. 12. *Conſulere, atque omnes metuentem expendere caſus.*

Oportet

Oportet (Athenienſes) eum qui boni aliquid facere noſtræ ciuitati cupit, primùm veſtras aures ſanare: corruptæ enim ſunt, adeò falſa & muta & quæuis potiùs, quàm optima audire conſueuiſtis. Demoſt. orat

The Venetian Embaſſadours treate of a league with the French: there is no ſcruple but onely this, *They will not referre the cauſe of Piſa to his Maieſtie.* The King takes their diffidence in ill part. He doubteth if he haue not this Tie, both vpon them and the Florentines, that he ſhall be aſſured of neither. Hee enclines rather to make peace with the Emperour, which treatie was then on foote; and propounded, that the one ſhould warre vpon *Millan*, and the other vpon *Venice*, at the ſame inſtant: He aſſures the Florentine Embaſſadours, that he will neuer conclude with *Venice* vpon other conditions then he had alreadie offered. But Duke *Valentinois*, the Cardinall S. *Peter in Vincola*, and *Triultio*, with others of his Councell in this affaire, aduiſe the contrary, by effectuall, well grounded, and demonſtratiue reaſons. They alleadge that he ought not refuſe the Venetians, for feare to loſe the Florentines, becauſe their power was greater in forces, and meanes fitter in nearneſſe, to oppreſſe the Duke of *Millan*. Beſides, this deliberation might cauſe the Duke to quit the Florentines, and combine with *Venice*, whoſe forces conioyned, late experience had ſhewed at *Taro*, what effects they might worke. And to lay any foundation of aſſurance vpon the Emperour *Maximilian*, were moſt dangerous of all. He had made good proofe at his laſt being in *Italy*, that his deſſeignes are greater in the proiect, then either his prudence to colour them, or his meanes to carrie them: and in caſe he ſhould haue ſucceſſe, it were deeply to be weighed, how dangerous ſuch a greatneſſe would be, in a profeſſed and perpetuall enemie of the Crowne of *France*. The King perſwaded with the weight of theſe reaſons, alters his minde, takes the wiſer way, and concludes with *Venice*, without any ſpecification at all of the difference of *Piſa*.

APHORISME XXVI.

THose[1] dangers are leaſt auoided, which are vnknowne or vnexpected:[2] And thoſe counſels are beſt carried, which the enemie ſees in execution, before he heares them by relation. None in the armie muſt know to what ſeruice Scipio leades his troupes, but onely C. Lælius: nor is it fit, things determined in Councell, ſhould be communicated, but to thoſe without whom they cannot be effected. For as Expedition is the life of Action: ſo is Secreſie of Deliberation.

Seneca. 1 *Citiùs venit periculum, cùm contemnitur.*
Inopinata magis premunt mala.

Lip.pol.l.5. Plu.de Grac. 2 *Anima conſilij, Secretum.*
Metellus aliquid militiæ interrogatus, ſi inquit tunicam meam arcani mihi conſciam ſcirem, exutam in ignem abijcerem.

Tacit.hiſt.1. *Num omnes nuntios palàm audiri, omnia conſilia cunctis præſentibus tractari, ratio rerum aut occaſionum velocitas patitur?*

Tacit.an.l.3. Bod.l.3. *Primum, præcipuumq; eorum quæ ad fœlicem exitum requiruntur, eſt ſilere.*

Liui.de exp. Scipionis. *Res periculi plena, in ſenatu decreta manare in vulgus.*
Nemo omnium quò iretur, præter C. Lælium, ſciebat.

Plut.in Rom *Conſo, quem faciebant conſiliorum Deum, Ara ſub terra: quia planè arcanum debeat eſſe & tectum conſilium.*

Plu.de Grac. *Antigonus, filio quem erat regni hæredem habiturus, vocem arcanam non credidit: ſed quærenti quando caſtra eſſent moturi; Quid, inquit, metuis ne ſolus tu non audias tubam?*

Capitol. ad Diocleſian. *Veſtra clementia, reuocatis ad interiora maioribus, ea diſponit quæ non ſunt omnibus publicanda: de quibus adiurare etiam ſoletis, ne quis ante rem completam, quicquam vel audiat, vel intelligat.*

Am.de Secr. *Si come delle frutte, altre ſono che ſi mangiano la State, & altre che ſi ſerbon per il verno: così biſogna far delle coſe ſegrete: ſcerre quelle che ſi poſſon dire, da quelle che infino à vn certo tempo, s'hanno à tacere.*

The league is concluded betweene the French king and the Venetians. The Articles theſe: They to aſſaile *Millan* on the one ſide, while the King warres on the other: And to haue *Cremona* and *Ghiaradadda* with all their territories, for their ſhare. The reſt of the Dutchie to remaine to the King, and twentie ells breadth along the riuer of *Adda*. To defend reciprocally and mutually the

the one the others part, and all the *Terra ferma* of *Venice*, euen to the mariſhes. This buſineſſe is carried with ſuch ſecreſie, as the Duke knew not of it for many moneths, nor yet the Pope, who held good correſpondencie with the King. They ſuppoſed it had bene a confederation defenſiue onely, as at firſt it was ſolemnly proclaimed in the Court of *France*, and citie of *Venice*.

APHORISME XXVII.

IT is a manly vertue in a Prince, and a Manlian aduice, to prepare for warre when he propounds for peace; and not to ſtay his prouiſions for the one, though he be treating vpon conditions for the other. Becauſe otherwiſe he ſeemes to beg or buy his peace, and gets it not but at a high rate. Wherefore peace is neuer to be treated with our armour off, or ſword ſheathed: nor to be concluded, but vnder a buckler, and vpon ſure tearmes.

Oſtendite modò bellum, pacem habebitis, videant vos paratos ad vim, ius ipſi remittent. Manl. apud Plutarch.

Media pace incauti circumueniuntur. Tac. an. f. 231

Pacem optatis magis quàm defenditis. Pacem ſub clipeo parare. Saluſt. hiſt. 1.

Iamais ſage Prince, ny bon Capitain, ne fit la paix deſarmé. Bod. rep. l. 5.

Intempeſtiuo belligerandi ſtudio deditos, nunquam niſi atratos pacem decernere. Demades de Athen. Plut.

——Dices non eſſe ad bella fugaces
Qui pacem potuere pati. —— Lucan. l. 2.

Silent leges inter arma; nec ſe expectari iubent, cùm ei qui expectare velit, antè iniuſta pœna luenda ſit, quàm iuſta repetenda. Cic. pro Mil.

Nec citò perit ruinâ, qui ruinam timet. Semper enim metuendo ſapiens vitat malum. Pont. de fort

Crocodilus terribilis eſt in fugaces, fugax contrà in ſequentes: Ita quidam ſi concedas ac metuas, tum ferociunt; ſi ſtrenuè contemnas & obſiſtas, ſtatim concedunt. Plin. l. 8. c. 25

The Venetian forces are much weakened in the Caſentine prouince. One thouſand fiue hundred horſe haue left the army at ſeuerall times; beſides many foote. The Duke of *Vrbine*, *Aluiano*, *Aſtorre Bagliano*, *Marcello* the Venetian treaſurer, & *Iulian Medici*,

are forced to abandon *Montalone* and *Vernia*, two important places, either for ſuccours to come to them, or for their ſafe retreit in caſe of neceſſitie: they are retired into *Bibiena*, and there much diſtreſſed. The State of *Venice* is at this very inſtant in treatie with *Florence*, for a full and finall compoſition of all differences betweene them. The award is referred to the Duke of *Ferrara*, both concerning the cauſe of *Piſa*, as alſo all other their quarrels and demaunds. Yet for all this, though the peace be in ſo good forwardneſſe, the Venetians foreſlow not to prepare great ſupplies for their Caſentine buſineſſe, which they ſend vnder the leading of the Count *Petigliano*, to the ſuccours of thoſe diſtreſſed troupes: not for any aduancement of that ſeruice, but to haue better conditions in the accord.

APHORISME XXVIII.

IT[1] is hard for a man, ſo warily to walke in any condition of charge or ſeruice, as that he daſh not his foote againſt the ſtone of offence: eſpecially in that of command, where he muſt vſe his authoritie ſparingly that would keepe it long.[2] Wherefore that Generall which bindes not himſelfe within the limits of his commiſsion, nor vſeth the aduice of his Councell of warre, ſhall neuer want ſecret enemies among theſe he hath neglected, to vrge his tranſgreſsion, and worke his confuſion.

Lip.an.l.3. 1 *Tam eſt difficile in omni vitæ genere, ſic te gerere, vt ne impingas.*

Saluſt.Cat. *Neque quiſquam omnium libidini ſimul & vſui paruit.*

Commin.l.1 *Memini regem Ludouicum mecum ſic loqui: vt diceret, fieri aliquando vt operæ nauatæ laudabiliter minus pretium ſit, idq; culpa eorum qui nauaſſent: dum elati quadam confidentia, inſolenter & proteruè ſe gererent.*

Tacit.an.11. *Potentia cautis quàm acrioribus conſilijs tutiùs habetur.*

Terent.Adel *Sed Demea, hoc tu facito cum animo cogites;*
Quàm vos facillimè agitis, quàm eſtis maximè
Potentes, dites, fortunati, nobiles,
Tam maximè vos æquo animo æqua noſcere
Oportet, ſi vos vultis perhiberi probos.

2 *Ciuitas*

2 *Ciuitas rimandis offensis sagax.* Tacit.hist.4.

Il ny a rien si dangereux en vne Armee, que quand vn Chef outrecuidant se veut gouuerner selon son sens, sans respecter ses compagnons. Am.Plut.Ag

Celuy qui se hausse trop, donne occasion à ceux qui s'estiment autant que luy, de se liguer, & chercher à quelque pris que se soit, les moyens de le ietter par terre. Am.Plut.Gr

Non si può dar Precetto meglio, che di mozzar l'autorità d'vn Generale, diuenuto troppo potente & orgoglioso. Rag.Stat.

Paule Vitelli the Florentine Generall, who had borne that office with great reputation, and managed the warres with singular prudence and happie successe: hauing now the enemy cooped vp in *Bibiena*, growes daily more imperious in his command and dispatches, then was thought fit for his place, or was lawfull by his commission. He grants safeconduct to the Duke of *Vrbine* being sick, to depart into *Romagna*, without the consent or priuiuity of the Florentine Commissaries: vnder which protection *Iulian Medici* escaped also away. The State is perswaded, that *Vrbine* would rather haue yeelded vp the place, with all his forces, then haue staied in that extremity of sickenesse: great offence is likewise taken, that *Medici*, a rebell to his country, had so escaped their hands. Many of the Citizens fauour the Generall, for his former good seruices, and some, because they were his kinsmen. But the greater part, in affection to *Rinuccio*, their old and faithfull seruant and souldier, vrged his transgression. *Rinuccio* himselfe, who had commanded in chiefe, till his defeate at *S. Regolo*, and now not brooking a superior; as at first in enuy of *Vitellies* glory, he slacked to further his seruice in the Casentine businesse, so now in desire of reuenge, he helpeth to worke his destruction. This was the beginning of *Vitellies* fall.

APHORISME XXIX.

Popular [1] *States attribute good successe in warre or peace, to their owne proper courage and direction: what falleth out crosse, they lay to the Generalles fault and imputation. Against whom, no mans tong seemeth prompt enough, or mouth sufficiently wide, to breathe out contumelious menaces.* [2] *Wherfore let*

him that ſtandeth charged with ſo great an account, take heede that he make a good reckoning, and that his preſent actions wipe out all ſcores of former iealouſies and ſurmiſes: for if he be once in ſuſpect, and after trip neuer ſo little, it is impoßible to keepe him from falling.

Probus. 1 *Caſus tantùm aduerſos ducibus tribuunt: ſecundos fortunæ ſuæ.*

Saluſt. Cat. *Ad reprehendenda aliena dicta & facta ardet omnibus animus, vix ſatis apertum os, aut lingua prompta videtur.*

Tacit. Agric. *Iniquiſſima hæc bellorum conditio eſt, proſpera omnes ſibi vendicant; aduerſa vni imputantur.*

Tac. hi. f. 33. *Vulgus fingendi auidum.*

Seneca Sent. *Ad triſtem partem ſtrenua eſt ſuſpicio.*

Hom. Od. H. *Quippe homines plærique ſumus δύσζηλοι. i. ſuſpicioſi.*

Ammi. l. 21. *Hinc inde commentum & nota ars ducum, hoſtem ducem in ſuſpicionem apud ſuos adducere.*

Tacit. an. l. 5. 2 *Ad ſummum gradum cum claritatis veneris, conſiſtes ægrè, & cùm deſcendas, decides.*

Laberius. *Cecidi ego: cadet qui ſequitur.*

Am. Plut. Gr *Ceux qui commencent à perdre leur credit en vn eſtat, ſont aiſément deſarçonnez.*

Idem Ibid. *Le Peuple abandonne en neceſsité ceux qui ſe ſont le plus employé pour eux.*

Demoſt. Ἔστι γὰρ τῆς πολιτικῆς τε καὶ πολεμικῆς περιόδου κατάλυσις: *i. Diſſolutio vtriuſq;.*

Vitelli hath the enemy ſtraightly begirt in *Bibiena*. He requires a ſupplie from *Florence* of foure thouſand men, to cartie the place, driue the enemy quite out of the Caſentine, and to make a finall end of that warre. The Citizens vpon former diſtaſte of his proceedings, ſuſpect his counſaile, and reiect his demand. And becauſe there was of late and accidentally ſome peece of good ſeruice done, vpon the ſtragling and diſordered enemy, by the countrey Peſants, without the preſence of him, or aſſiſtance of his ſouldiers, the meaner ſort of the city detract from his worth, and depraue all his actions: attributing the continuance of the warre to his want of fidelity, and deſire he had to hold himſelfe ſtill great in that his command: laying that to his will which was not in his power to alter.

APHORISME XXX.

EVery[1] *man muſt haue credit in the art he profeſſeth: but no power to perſwade to a buſineſſe which we call into deliberation, and may concerne his aduantage in particular. For the Architect and maſter of the workes will alwaies aduiſe vs to build, though we neither haue matter enough prepared, nor purſe ſufficiently lined for ſuch a purpoſe: becauſe it is for his proper imployment and benefit.*[2] *So States muſt be aduiſed and ouer-ruled by the ſouldier, in the manage of a warre; but he ſeldome admitted to the deliberation of vndertaking it.*

1 *Vnicuique in arte ſua credendum.* Ariſt.

Nauem agere ignarus nauis timet, abrotonum aegro Horat. ep. 2.
Non audet niſi qui didicit, dare; quod medicorum eſt
Promittunt medici: tractant fabrilia fabri.

Ne Sutor vltra crepidam. Adag.

2 *Fuit ei conſuetudo, vt ſi de iure, aut de negotijs tractaret, ſolos doctos & diſertos adhiberet: Si verò de re militari, milites veteres & ſenes benemeritos, & locorum peritos, & bellorum ac caſtrorum.* Lamp. de Seuero.

Peritiſſimos Centurionum diſſentientes, & ſi conſulerentur vera dicturos, intimi amicorum Vitellij arcuêre: ita formatis Principis auribus, vt aſpera quæ vtilia, &c. Tacit. hiſt. 3. fol. 76.

Minimè enim omnium bellum ex decretis procedit, ſed ipſum ex ſe multa inuenit, & vt res ſunt natæ. Thucid. l. 1.

Conſilium inuenire multi, ſed docti explicant. Sene. in fine.

Quinetiam in defendenda vrbe, miniſterio alieniſſimorum vtuntur, ſed conſilio tamen intimorum. Tac. hiſt. l. 3.

The Count *Petigliano* comes with his Venetian troopes to *Elci*, a caſtle of the Dutchie of *Vrbine*, vpon the Florentine confines: here he meetes *Charles Orſini*, and *Peter Medici*: for this place was appointed the Rendez-vous, of all their forces, which were to paſſe the Appennine, to the ſuccours of the beſieged in *Bibiena*. He findes the mountaines loaden with ſnow, and the paſſages ſo narrow and dangerous, euen in more ſeaſonable times and fauourable weather, as he thought it a dangerous reſolution to venture through: and beſides, he ſees the enemy ſtrong at the foote

foote of the hilles, to receiue him vpon great aduantage. He hath direction and peremptory commandement from the Senate at *Venice* to aduance forward, yet in regard of thoſe military conſiderations, he holdes it better to diſobey the command, then to expoſe the whole army to an apparant ouerthrow. He ſtirres not a foote farther.

APHORISME XXXI.

AN' Award betweene States in difference, is like Phyſicke miniſtred to a body, wherein is a hotte liuer and a colde ſtomacke: what helpeth the one, commonly hurteth the other: [2] *So this ſeldome contenteth any of the parties, and often diſpleaſeth all. Wherefore as theſe are carefull, that there be ſtrict cautions and obligations for abiding the Award, ſo ſhould he be well aduiſed before he vndertake the charge. For it is better to ſit ſtill, then be imployed in a buſineſſe where a man is in no hope of getting any thing to himſelfe, but in danger of loſing both his paines, and his friends.*

Gal. San. tuē lib. 6.

1 *At qui inæqualem temperiem ſunt ſortiti, ita vt his aliud iecinoris temperamentum ſit, aliud ventris, aut alicuius eorum quæ circa iecur ſunt, ijs diuerſum eſt quod aſſumptu iucundum eſt, ab eo quod cuique particulæ eſt idoneum.*

Suet. Oct. au. fol. 91.

2 *Neque veteranorum, neque poſſeſſorum gratiam tenuit: alteris pelli ſe, alteris non pro ſpe meritorum tractari, querentibus.*

Eraſ. ex Xen.

Vnde Bunas Athenienſis, quum controuerſiam (inter Caydonios & Eleos) vtrig. ad eius arbitrium deferrent, conuenerat autem vt à manibus temperarent, donec ille de negotio pronunciaſſet; per fictas occaſiones rem in longum diſtulit, nec vnquam de lite voluit pronunciare.

Bod. l. 3.

In receptis arbitrijs nemo qui noluit obligatur.

Adag. 38.

Ne depugnes in alieno negotio.

Virg. Eglo.

Non noſtrum inter vos tantas componere lites.

The Duke of *Ferrara* is choſen by the States of *Venice* and *Florence*, to compromit betweene them in the cauſe of *Piſa*. He awardeth thus: The Florentines to pay the Venetians one hundred and eightie thouſand Duckats (of the eight hundred thouſand they auowed to haue ſpent in that warre) in twelue yeares, by

by equall portions. The Venetians to call home all their forces from *Piſa* and *Bibiena*. The Piſans to be pardoned of all former offences, and to haue free libertie of trafficke, both by land and by ſea. The fortreſſes of *Piſa*, and other places in that territory, which were in their poſſeſſion at the day of this Award, ſo to remaine. To haue free choiſe of their garriſon ſouldiers, ſo they were not perſons ſuſpect to the Florentines; and to be paid out of the Entrada or reuenue of *Piſa*. All the forts built by the Florentines in the Piſan territory during theſe warres, to ſtand or be razed, at the choiſe of the Piſans. The Piſans to elect their *Podeſtà* for ciuill cauſes. The Florentines to appoint the *Capitano* for guard of the Cittadel, and gouerning in cauſes criminall; but not to iudge in caſe of life, limme, or confiſcation, without ſuch Aſſeſſors as the Duke ſhould appoint. All moueable goods to be reſtored: but the profits of them in this *interim* of the warres, not to be anſwerable, nor the partie accountable. In all other things, the right and iuriſdiction ouer them, to remaine inuiolable: and the Piſans enioyned to practiſe no new matter, in preiudice of the Florentines. The Award thus made, is of the greater part of the Venetians vtterly diſliked, becauſe it ſeemes to abandon the Piſans to their former ſeruitude. The Florentines repine to repay any part of that money which was ſo vniuſtly ſpent againſt them, and meerly vpon an ambitious end. And the Piſans they complaine that they are betrayed into the hands of the enemy, and bought and ſold betweene them.

APHORISME XXXII.

THe friendſhip of Princes is often perſonall; of free States neuer: for they, either vpon ſome friendly enterview, or entercourſe of kinde letters, or enterchange of good turnes, or affinity of bloud, do condole the loſſe, congratulate the ſucceſſe, ſupply the wants, relieue the diſtreſſes, and redreſſe the wrongs one of

another, through ſome bond of bloud or affection. Whereas free States performe none of thoſe good offices, but for their owne ends: and they that receiue them, are thankful no longer then while they are in receiuing. For nothing is ſhorter liued among them then the memory of benefits. One ounce of ſuppoſed vnkindneſſe ouerweigheth a pound of former friendſhip. And, Not to continue to do them good, is to begin to do them wrong.

Por. in Guic. *Niuna coſa è più breue, niuna ha vita minore, che la memoria de benefizij.*

Calphur. *Vilia quæcunque prioribus annis, & ſordet quicquid ſpectauimus olim.*

Eraſm. *Sic Lynces: clariſsimè cernunt quæ ante oculos, ſed obliuio illis rei ab oculis ſemotæ.*

Petrarch. *Firmior offenſarum quàm beneficiorum, tenaciorq; memoria.*

Plut. f. 541. *Tempeſtate obortâ ſub arborem hanc confugitis, inter digrediendum frondes eius ſtringitis. (Themiſtocles Athenienſibus.)*

Adag. Teut. *Si humeris quempiam in cœlum ſubuexeris, & tandem minùs molliter depoſueris, infenſiorem tibi ex hoc, quàm conciliatiorem ex altero fore.*

The Piſans had reuolted from the Florentine obedience, and runne into manifeſt rebellion, without the encouragement or conſent of *Venice*. This citie, in their greateſt extremitie vndertooke their protection: which howſoeuer it were vpon ends of her owne, yet was it an action of acceptable welcome to them, and meriting thankfulneſſe at their hands. The neceſſitie of the times, and her preſent affaires, force her now at laſt to quit their defence: yet ſhe leaues them in far better tearmes then ſhe found them, or they without her could poſſibly haue hoped. This notwithſtanding, they complaine of hard dealing, think themſelues betrayed, and vpbraid her of iniuſtice: yea, and in greater deſpite vpon the firſt ouuerture of the Award, they diſcharge her garriſons from the Cittadel, and her guards from the gates, as perſons ſuſpected, and hinderers of their libertie, and will not ſuffer them to ſtay one night in the citie.

APHORISME XXXIII.

A Man of noted credit, may paſſe with a lie, and ſet a currant ſtampe vpon ſuch falſe coine. But hee that is notorious for his perfidious and double dealing, is alwaies obnoxious to this one ineuitable plague, Neuer to be beleeued, though he tell the truth.

Sæpe falsò plorat quis —— vtì mox
Nulla fides damnis verisq; doloribus adsit. Hor.ep.f.268
Non si crede al bugiardo, se dice il vero,
Si crede al verace, benche bugia. Pro.Ital.
Vbi quis semel peierarit, ei credi posteà, etiamsi per plures iuret Deos, non conuenit. Cic.pro C. Rab.
Qui ont rompu leur foy, leurs compagnons mesmes à la fin, ne se fient en eux. Am.Plu.Ant
Tiberio raccommanda suoi Nipoti al Senato (& questo faceua da douero) ma diceua ancora (fintamente) che voleua render il gouerno della rep. & che i consoli ò qualunque altro ne pigliasse la cura. Et con questi suoi modi di fauellare, faceua sì, che le cose ch'egli diceua da douero quantunque honeste, non gli erano credute. Am.è Tacit. hist.l.4.
Mendax hoc lucratur, vt cum vera dixerit ei non credatur. Laert.l.5.
Nec semel irrisus, triuijs attollere curat Hor.1. ep.17
Fracto crure planum: licet illi plurima manet
Lachryma: per sanctum iuratus dicat Osyrim,
Credite: non ludo: crudeles tollite claudum:
Quære peregrinum, vicinia rauca reclamat.

The abandoned Piſans reſolue to runne any fortune, rather then yeeld themſelues to the Florentines, whom they had ſo highly offended. They of *Genoa*, *Lucca*, and *Siena*, more apt to giue ill counſell, then able to yeeld any good comfort, encourage them in this obſtinacie. Onely the Duke of *Millan*, contrary to his old wont, is become a father of peace; perſwades them to a ſubmiſſion: and vndertakes to mediate a good end for them, with full remiſſion of all former forfeitures. They will not hereunto be perſwaded: but offer freely to him the tender of their obedience, and abſolute ſoueraigntie of their citie and State. The Duke conſiders the condition of the times, the greatneſſe of his enemies, with the nearneſſe of his troubles, and refuſeth the offer. The Florentines

rentines will by no meanes be perſwaded but that he was the man that encouraged them to this contumacie and obſtinateneſſe, though he proteſted and ſwore the contrary.

APHORISME XXXIIII.

HE[1] *that is a temporizer and deceiuer himſelfe, hath not whereof to complaine, if he be deceiued in that kinde: and where is no iuſt cauſe of complaint, there is no true proofe of iniuſtice.* [2] *Wherefore, becauſe States are many times ouerthrowne by fraud and deceit, they hold it lawfull to preſerue them by the ſame meanes from a publick and profeſſed enemy, and one that is a Maſter in the ſame facultie.*

Perſ.Sat.5. 1 —*Et fronte politus*
Aſtutam vapido ſeruat ſub pectore vulpem.

Salu. de Iug *Ipſe longè aliter animo agitabat, tamen pro tempore benignè reſpondit.*

Plut. in Lac. apopth.f 229 *Sic Lyſander verſutus & plæraque fraude miſcens, veritatem aiebat nihilo meliorem eſſe mendacio: ſed vtriuſque dignitatem & precium vſu definiri. (Hoc autem perfidum nimis.)*

Mur.de Prin *Etiam qui ex illis (Principibus) Rhetores non ſunt, figuratè tamen loqui ſciunt.*

Thucyd. l.6. *Solere in præſentiarum, orationis ſuauitate mulcere eos à quibus ſuſpicantur, in exequendo autem, ea poſtea agere quæ ſibi conducant.*

Lip.pol.l.4. Pro. Lat. Adag.græc. Bodi.rep.l.5. 2 *Per fraudem & dolum regna cuertuntur: Quidni præſeruentur?*
Fallere fallentem non eſt fraus. Cretiſare cum Cretenſi.
Ἀλωπεκίζειν πρὸς ἕτερον ἀλώπεκα. *Cum vulpe iunctum, pariter vulpinarier.*
Si l'vn des ennemis ſoit departi de ſa promeſſe, & a trompé l'autre, il n'a que plaindre, s'on luy rend la pareille: Ma pourtant, la parfidie ne ſe doit venger, ni repeter, apres qu'on a traitté paix & accord enſemble.

The French King offers the State of *Florence*, to ioyne with her in the recouery of *Piſa*, ſo ſoone as he ſhall haue conquered *Millan*, if in this his warre ſhe will aide him with fiue hundred men at armes for a whole yeare. The Duke of *Millan* offers firſt to aſſiſt her with what forces ſhe ſhall require, for the reducing of that towne vnder her obedience, if after the ſeruice done, ſhe will be bound to his defence with three hundred men

at

at armes, and two thouſand foote. This State deliberates in Councell, which offer to accept. That of the King, was leſſe certaine; this of the Duke, more preſent: Yet if the King had good ſucceſſe in his warre againſt *Millan*, the danger was greater from him then the other. It is true, the Duke had ſtucke cloſeſt to them in their greateſt extremitie, whereby he had incurred the hate of the Venetians, and brought them vpon his owne backe, in this dangerous combination with *France* againſt him; which in all reaſon of gratitude, ſhould moue their inclination to his demaund: but ſo was it likewiſe as true, that he had bene the firſt brewer and broacher of the Piſans rebellion, which worthily cancelled the memory of that other benefit, or any pleaſure elſe whatſoeuer, which he had or could doe them. They are fearfull to offend the King, and loth to diſtaſt the Duke with a flat deniall. They therefore ſend him this cautelous and ambiguous anſwer, by a Secretary of State: That the intention of their Commonwealth, is in effect the ſame with his, though there be ſome difference in the manner. For they were purpoſed, ſo ſoone as they had ended their owne warre againſt the rebels of *Piſa*, to grant him the aide he demanded of them. But they hold it dangerous to make expreſſe couenant with him, or to capitulate by writing, or to vſe his forces, leaſt they ſhould prouoke the Pope, French king, and Venetians to impeach their proceedings againſt *Piſa*: and ſo both they and he be fruſtrate of their ends. But they bound themſelues ſecretly and by writing, to the French king, in the contrary. The Duke findes this their anſwer full of cunning, as one well practiſed in that art, and therefore aſſures himſelfe of nothing leſſe, then the friendſhip of *Florence*.

APHORISME XXXV.

THere is [1] nothing ſo dangerous in a great affaire, as Irreſolution and Tergiuerſation: eſpecially in that Prince, whoſe good fortunes are come to their laſt period, and his whole eſtate ſet vpon one caſt. But deſtruction decreed, cannot be reſiſted; for [2] the obiect deſtined hereunto, loſeth himſelfe in the intricate maze of his owne perplexities: by vn-doing what he hath done, to his owne vndoing.

Por. in Guic. 1 *A conſigli celeſti, non ſi può reſiſtere.*

Mac. diſp. 2. *Multa accidunt ex fato ita vrgente, vt ijs obuiam ire nemo poteſt.*

Herod. l. 9. *Quod diuinitùs contingere debet, homo à ſe nulla arte ciſpellere poteſt.*

Virg. —— *Sors omnia verſat.*

Virg. Æn. 2 *Et ſi fata Deûm, ſi mens non læua fuiſſet.*

Virg. Ge. 1. *Haud equidem credo quia ſit diuinitùs illis*
Ingenium, aut rerum fato prudentia maior.

Ario. Ca. 27. *Perche l'huomo nè per ſtar nè per fuggire,*
Al ſuo fiſſo deſtin può contradire.

Incer. Auth. 2 *Occulta vis fati tunc maximè vrget, quum miſero mentis arbitrium eripit.*

Lucan. l 9. *Hoc placet ô Superi, cùm vobis vertere cuncta*
Propoſitum, noſtris erroribus addere crimen;
Cladibus irruimus, nocituraq; poſcimus arma.

Senec. in fin. *Stultum facit fortuna quem vult perdere.*

The Duke of *Millan* deſpaires of all hope but in himſelfe and owne forces. All other Princes abandon him: onely the King of *Naples* is willing to helpe him, but vnable. He therefore takes the beſt courſe he can in ſuch an extremity. He fortifies *Anon*, *Nouara*, and *Alexandria della Paglia*, (places firſt expoſed to the French impreſſion.) He reſolues to diſpoſe the greateſt part of his army vnder *Galeazzo da San-Seuerino*, to reſiſt the French on that ſide the Duchie: the reſt he diſpoſeth vnder the Marquis of *Mantoaes* leading, to oppoſe againſt the Venetians on the other ſide. His forces thus prudently and prouidently diuided and diſpoſed he ordereth otherwiſe, either through improuidence, diſtruſt, or couetouſneſſe. He diſſolues thoſe regiments vnder the

the Marquis his charge, moouing many difficulties, refuſing to pay him the remainder of his former entertainement, and demanding his oath, and vnuſuall caution for his fidelity. This he did to ſatisfie *Galeazzo*, who could not brooke the others precedency in title. Hereby he left that ſide naked to the Venetian army, and loſt the ſeruice of ſo braue a ſouldier, and worthie Commander: whom he after ſought by all meanes and mediation of friends, but could neuer win him till it was too late.

APHORISME XXXVI.

FIue [1] *things are required in a Generall: Knowledge, Valour, Foreſight, Authority, and Fortune. He that is not renowmed for all, or moſt of theſe vertues, is not to be reputed fit for this charge: Nor can this glory be purchaſed but by practiſe and proofe. For the greateſt Fencer is not alwaies the beſt fighter, nor the faireſt Tilter, the ableſt ſouldier: nor the greateſt fauourite in Court, the fitteſt Commander in a campe.* [2] *That Prince therefore is ill aduiſed, who conferres this charge vpon his mynion, either for his courtſhippe, or what other reſpect, neglecting thoſe more requiſite and more noble properties.*

1 *Boni Ducis τεχμήρια quinque, Scientia, Virtus, Prouidentia, Authoritas, Fortuna.* Lip.pol.l.5 è Cicer.

Gl' huomini debbon eſſe tirati à gl'honori, per gradi, non per ſalti. Amirat.l.6.

Non biſogna ſtar ſolo ad eſſer nobile: Perche l'arte della guerra s'apprende, con lo ſtar ne gl'eſſerciti, col veder il nemico in viſo, & con venir ſeco alle mani: Non con eſſer nato de padri illuſtri, &c. Amirat.l.17.

Dux ſit in his caſtris ſenior, dum miles in illis. Lucan.l. 2.

Tu quis es qui tam magnificè? equeſne an ſagittarius? Nihil inquit horum, ſed qui ſciam hiſce omnibus imperare. Plut. Apop. fol.187.

2 *Biſogna di valor ſegni più chiari,*
Che por con leggiadria la Lancia in mano. Ario.Ca.16.

Conuien ad vn Prencipe hauer ſumma cura & auuertenza nell' elettione de' capitani, che hanno à preporre à grandi impreſe: Conſioſia coſa che, ſe queſti non ſaranno di natura & di coſtumi conformi à penſieri del Prencipe, indarno ſe gli daranno gl'ordini & le commiſsioni. Parut.l.2.diſ

Tiberius

Tac.hiſt.l.3. *Tiberius hortabatur Senatum, vt eligeret Proconſulem in bello contra Tacfarinatem, gnarum militiæ, corpore validum, & bello ſuffecturum.*

Idem Ibid. *E grandiſsimo errore nel dar i Carichi militari, non riguardar ad altro, oltre alla ſola nobiltà.*

Am. è Tac l. 4. de Tiberio *Talche egli non daua vffizio, ô tiraua à dignità cittadino alcuno, s'egli non era a baſtanza cognoſciuto, ch'egli lo meritaſſe.*

Lucan.l. 2. *Dux Bruto, Cato ſolus erit.*

Auſ.fol.92. *Non erunt honores vnquam fortuiti muneris.*

Vellci.l.2. *Neque enim quærendus erat quem legeret: ſed legendus qui eminebat.*

Galeazzo da San-Seuerino a gallant Courtier, the Duke of *Millans* chiefe fauourite, a faire runner at Tilte, and a gracefull man at armes, is made Generall of the Millaneſe army. He commands one thouſand ſixe hundred lances, one thouſand fiue hundred light horſe, ten thouſand Italian foote, and fiue hundred Dutch. He hath direction to waite vpon the French army newly come into thoſe parts, and conſiſting of one thouſand ſixe hundred men at armes, fiue thouſand Swiſſe, foure thouſand Gaſcoins, and foure thouſand of other French foote. He hath commandement not to charge vpon the enemy in *Campagna raſa*, and battaile ranged; but onely to ſuccour *Anon*, *Nouara*, *Alexandria*, and thoſe other places firſt expoſed to danger, and to ſtand onely vpon the defenſiue. He ſuffereth to be taken euen before his face, *Arazzo*, *Anon*, *Valenza*, *Baßignano*, *Caſtel-nuouo*, *Ponte-corone*, and *Tortona*: all places of great ſtrength & importance. He retires into *Alexandria* with one thouſand two hundred men at armes, one thouſand two hundred light horſe, and three thouſand foote. The French beſiege him: whence after two daies (without acquainting any man of command, ſaue onely *Lucio Maluezzo*,) he ſecretly and ſhamefully ſteales away, and abandons the place to the aſſailants. An action of indelible ſtaine to his owne honour, and of eternall blemiſh to his maſters wiſdome, to conferre a place of ſo great command, in ſo dangerous a time, vpon a perſon of ſo little worth.

APHORISME XXXVII.

OF all bad ingredients into the heart of man, there is none poiſons it ſo much with the venome of treaſonable thoughts, as that of diſdaine. [2] The Prince that ſees this miſchieuous ſeede planted and growne amongſt his captaines in time of their employment, and ſeekes not to roote it vp with a quick and ſharpe hand, is in the high-roade to his owne ruine.

1 *Inuidia regni etiam inter domeſticos, infida omnia atque infeſta facit.* Liui.l.1.
Duoi interni Auoltoi, Sdegno, & Dolore. Taſſ. Ca. 20
Vetera odêre, noua expetunt, odio ſuarum rerum mutari omnia ſtudent. Saluſt.
Heu heu, quàm breuibus pereunt ingentia cauſis! Claud.ruff.2.
Imperium tanto quæſitum ſanguine, tanto
Seruatum, quod mille ducum peperêre labores,
Quod tantis Romana manus contexuit annis,
Proditor vnus iners anguſto tempore vertit.

2 *Suadeo vt occurras huic malo: Nam niſi incipiens & nondum adultum melioribus conſilijs flectatur, teq; remq; publicam peſſundabit.* Cic.Phili.5.
Digitum præſcindi oportet, ne ob eam rem gangræna ad brachium perueniat. Varro.Frag.
Fortioribus remedijs agendum: facillimumq; eſt cuilibet rei in ipſo introitu obſiſtere. Poly.l.3.79.
Grauius eſt contemni quàm ſtultitia percuti. Seneca.
Μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον ἡ συμμαχία. *i. Poſt bellum auxilium: Dictum quando ſeriùs adhibetur remedium.* Adag.Eraſ.

Count Gaiazzo commands the Dukes forces in *Ghiaradadda*, againſt the Venetians: he ſpleenes that *Galeazzo* his yonger brother and a worſe ſouldier, is preferred before him to be Generall. Tranſported with this paſſion of diſdaine, he deales ſecretly with the French, bargaines to betray the ſeruice in his charge, and to become the Kings penſioner. The Duke hath notice of the practiſe: telles the intelligencer ſighing, that he could not be perſwaded of ſo diſloyall and vngratefull a part in *Gaiazzo*: and if it were true, he knew not how to remedy it, nor in whom to affie, if ſuch as were moſt obliged to him, went about to betray him. He holds it no leſſe dangerous, to loſe the ſeruice of ſuch as he accounted faithfull, by ſuſpition, then to commit him-

ſelfe to their credits who might be ſuſpected, by cruell proceeding. He lets the matter ſo paſſe. *Gaiazzo* goes on with his practiſe: he is commanded to paſſe the *Pò* with his forces, and to ioyne with his brother againſt the French, who were now encamped before *Alexandria*. He cunningly delayes the time in making his bridge and paſſage ouer the riuer: meane while *Galeazzo* forſakes the towne. The enemy takes it: all the reſt of the Duchie follow the example of this place, and fortune of the victor. The Duke with his ſonnes, brethren, and ſome few friends, is forced preſently after to flee into *Germanie*.

APHORISME XXXVIII.

When a Prince beginneth once to be hated of his ſubiects, and in declination of his fortunes, be it well or ill that he doth, all is ill taken. For reformations are no remedies, except they be in ſeaſon; as Phyſick miniſtred out of due time, rather poiſoneth then preſerueth the bodie.

Am. in Tac. an. l. 17. 1 *Come il Prencipe ha comminciato vna volta ad eſſer odiato, ô bene ô male che e' ſi faccia, ogni coſa è mal fatta.*

Sen. Her. fur. *Vidi cruentos carcere includi Duces,*
Et impotentis terga plebeia manu
Scindi Tyranni.

Tacit. hiſt. 1. *Vtraque cædes ſiniſtrè accepta: & inuiſo ſemel Principe, ſeu benè ſeu malè facta premunt.*

Sen. in fine. *Ni gradus ſeruetur, nulli tutus eſt ſummus locus.*

Menander. 2 Ἅπαντα καιρῷ χάειν ἔχει τρυγώμενα. *i. Omnia tempeſtiuè gratiam habent.*

Ouid. *Opprime dum noua ſunt ſubiti mala ſemina morbi.*

Plaut. *Serò atque ſtultè, quod priùs cautum oportuit, poſtquam comedit rem, pòſt rationem putat.*

Adag. *Serò ſapiunt Phryges.*

Menander. Καιροὶ δ' καταλύουσι τὰς τυραννίδας. *i. Occaſiones autem diſſoluunt tyrannides.*

Ouid. remed *Temporibus medicina valet, data tempore proſunt,*
Et data non apto tempore vina nocent.

The Duke of *Millan* had ill ordered his affaires of warre, by entruſting the chiefe places of charge and command to perſons either

either vnable for the vndertaking, or vnfaithfull in the execution. He had alſo ill reigled his ciuill gouernment, by bringing his name in hatred, and his rule in diſlike among his ſubiects, through his many and heauy taxations impoſed vpon them. The moſt of his beſt townes and places of ſtrength are taken by the enemy: others yeelded by reuolt. He now (though too late) ſeekes to confirme his chiefe citie of *Millan* in her obedience, and to ſtay her from the like reuolt. To this end he calls a publick aſſembly: he enrolls all the men able to beare armes: he makes a lamentable and paſſionate oration to them, to re-aſſure their loyaltie to him: he frees them of many impoſitions: excuſeth his former proceedings by the neceſſities of the times: promiſeth many moe immunities and exemptions from other generall grieuances: with full amends for all that is paſt, and reformation of all that is amiſſe. All will not ſerue. The Millaneſes ſtriue with the other townes, who ſhall firſt yeeld to the French obedience: they riſe in armes: they kill *Landriano* the high Treaſurer in the middeſt of the ſtreetes, coming from the Court: they force the Duke himſelfe to flee into the Caſtle for his ſafetie: and run into manifeſt reuolt and open rebellion.

APHORISME XXXIX.

CReatures[1] are cheriſhed onely for the vſe we haue of them: when the Iade can worke no longer, we take his skin; when the Silk-worme hath wouen her web, we let her flie or die. As people deale with brute beaſts, ſo deale Princes with that brutiſh and beaſtly ſort of people, that betray their Prince or countrey to them: they cheriſh them but for their ends; they loue the treaſon, but not the traitor:[2] whoſe ſureſt and ſoreſt ſcourge is his owne conſcience.

1 Ἐγω προδοσίαν φιλῶ, προδοτὰς δ' οὐκ ἐπαινῶ. *Proditiones, non proditores amo.* Plut. de Phil.
Amo prodituros, non proditores. Stob. de eod
Rem amant, non reum. Lip. pol. l. 4.
Le più volte, come s' egli s' era ſeruito dell' opera loro à baſtanza e ſazio; in luogo di quelli, meſſo in opra de gl' altri, vſava egli ſteſſo di ſpegnere quei vecchi, & Am. Tac. hiſt l. 4. de Tiber.

pernizioſi, et di giâ venuti al colmo.

Liui.l.5. *Camillus pueris virgas dedit, quibus proditorem agerent in vrbem.*

Flor.l.1. *Sic virginem, quæ Sabinis Romæ portas prodidit: dum pretium rei petit, illi ipſi clipeis obruebant.*

Am.in Tacit. an.lib.15. *Gl'eſſecutori delle ſceleratezze di molta importanza, ſono da' Prencipi riſguardati, come ſe tali ſeruigij gl'improueraſſero.*

Bodi.rep.l 5. è Plutarch. *Les Lacedemoniens condamnerent leur Capitain Phœbidas, d'auoir empieté la Cadmée, contre la Teneur du Traitté fait auec les Thebains, & neantmoins ils retendirent la place.*

Am. Plu. Art *Quand ceux qui aiment les Trahiſons ne ſe peuuent plus ſeruir des Traiſtres, ils en tiennent peu de conte: Ce que met les Traiſtres en deſeſpoir, dont s'enſuit l'honteuſe mort, qu'ils ont bien merité.*

Sen.in fine. 2 *Illo nocens ſe damnat, quo peccat die.*

Ibid. *Heu conſcientia, animi grauis ſeruitus.*

Plut.de his qui ſerò pun. *Vt primùm quis improbè egit, iam obſtrictus pœnæ tenetur, & ſuauitate flagitij veluti eſca illico deuorata, conſcientiam intrà vrgentem plectentemq; habens, fluctuat.*

Plut.ibid. *Sicut malefici cum ad ſupplicium educuntur, quiſque ſuam effert crucem, ſic vitioſitas ex ſeſe fabricatur ſingula tormenta.*

Por.in Guic. *La conſcienza è potentiſsimo & certiſsimo flagello di chi fa male.*

Barnardino da Corte a Paueſe, and an old ſeruitor of the Duke, by him greatly aduanced, is put in truſt by his Maſter with the keeping of the impregnable caſtle of *Millan*, before *Aſcanio* the Dukes owne brother, who offered to vndertake the charge. At his departing from the citie, he leaues with him three thouſand ſoldiers vnder truſtie Captains; with prouiſion of victuals, munition, and mony, for many moneths, hoping ere long to returne out of *Germanie* with great ſuccours. This Caſtellan not enduring one ſhot of the Cannon, or any appearance of danger, ſels the place within twelue daies after the Duke was gone, for a great ſumme of mony: a conduct of one hundred Lances: and a penſion for life: beſides many other fauours and priuiledges. An act ſo infamous and hate full, as euen the French themſelues to whom he betraid it, abhorred him and ſhunned his company & fellowſhip, as if he had bin ſome venemous ſerpent. Inſomuch as playing at cards, they wold call for *Barnardino da Corte*, when they were to pul for a traitor, (a ſort in their pack, as Knaues are in ours) to his perpetuall reproch. With the ſhame hereof, & ſting of a guilty conſcience, he was ſo tormēted, as within few daies he lāguiſhed & died.

APHO-

APHORISME XL.

LIghtning [1] hurtes not the Lawrell, nor is ſeene in places farre North and remote from the Sunne: [2] no more is a peaceable aud meane eſtate ſubiect to the force of Fortune, or danger of higher Powers. For, the tall Cedars on the mountaines top are ſhaken and ouer-turned with tempeſt, when the low ſhrubbes of the valley are in quiet. So likewiſe, the meaneſt eſtate ſtands vpon Braſſe, the higheſt vpon Glaſſe: The way vpward is craggie, downeward ycie: Men climbe by degrees, but fall at once. [3] Betweene the higheſt fortune and loweſt there is no ſtay.

1 *Laurus fulmine ſola non icitur.* Plin.na.l.15.

Omnis terrarum exhalatio rigens ac gelida, quicquid accipit ignei vaporis extinguit: quæ ratio immunem Scythiam & circa rigentia, à fulminum caſu præſtat. Plin.l.2.c.20

2 *Qui iacet in terra, non habet vnde cadat.* Ouid.

Paupertas ſumma eſt fœlicitas, ſtatum enim non metuit. Seneca.

Ex mediocritate fortunæ pauciora pericula. Tacit.an.14.

Humili loco, ſed certa ſedet. Seneca.

Sordida paruæ fortuna domus:
Altè virtus animoſa cadit.

— O vitæ tuta facultas Lucan. l. 5.
Pauperis, anguſtiq́, lares, ô munera nondum
Intellecta deûm: quibus hoc contingere templis
Aut potuit muris, nullo trepidare tumultu,
— Cæſarea pulſante manu?

Fortuna ſæuo læta negotio, & Horat.
Ludum inſolentem ludere pertinax.

Dum excelſus ſteti Sen.Thieſt.
Nunquam pauêre deſtiti.

3 *Fortuna leuis eſt, citò repoſcit quæ dedit.* Senec. Sent.

Regum maieſtas difficiliùs ab ſummo ad medium detrahitur, quàm à medijs ad ima præcipitatur. (inquit Tacitus.) I Re per la loro grandezza non ſono ſi facili à cadere come i Priuati: Ma; ſe punto comminciano à ſdrucciolare, non hanno riparo. Am.in Tacit

Sic nubibus ipſis inſerta caput Seneca Oed.
Turris pluuio vapulat auſtro.

Non enim his gradibus quibus ad ſumma peruentum eſt, itur: ſæpe inter fortunam maximam & vltimam nihil intereſt. Sen.de Ben.

Imperium cupientibus nihil medium inter præcipitia & ſumma. Tac.hiſt.l.2.

Sen. Oed. *Vt alta ventos ſemper excipiunt iuga,*
Imperia ſic excelſa Fortunæ ſubiacent.

Sueton. *Difficilius Principem à primo ordine in ſecundum, quàm ex ſecundo in nouiſſimum detrudi.*

The city and caſtle of *Millan* are now at the French deuotion: *Montara*, and *Pauia* yeeld: So did all the townes in the prouinces of *Cremona*, and *Ghiaradadda*. *Genoa* followes: the like do all the other townes and forts of that Duchie. Thus the French army coming downe in the midſt of *Auguſt*, hath made conqueſt of ſo ſtrong and noble a State, hath driuen out of his countrie ſo great and rich a Prince, with his children and brethren: and all this before the end of *September*.

APHORISME XLI.

When the ſtomack hath receiued plenty of foode, all the heate in the exterior parts hath recourſe thither, to diſpoſe it to nutriment, and expell what is hurtfull. For nature rather defendeth her ſelfe againſt an inteſtine then forraine enemy, (as being the more dangerous, either to the health of a man, or ſafety of a State.) And therefore ſhe drawes all her forces from theſe Suburbs of the body of a man, to this Metropolis of the ſtomack. As it fares in this direction of nature, ſo ſtands it in the diſcipline of warre: and as in the body ſo in a Garriſon towne, the chiefeſt forces muſt be naturall, and of our owne ſubiects: For, if the Maior part be Mercenaries and ſtrangers, it is alwaies in their power to curbe or croſſe our command: and to giue vp the place at their owne pleaſure.

Paruta l.1. diſc. 14. *Nelle coſe di Stato è regola generale, non douerſi per ſuo proprio ſolleuamento valerſi di forze ſtraniere, che ſiano di molto ſuperiori & più potenti delle proprie. Perche così conuienſi dipendere dalla voglia altrui.*

Ioſeph. in vi. Xen. Cyr. l. 8 *Neminem ignotum militem inter ſuos admittendum.*

Quare & homines ciues alienis præferendi ſunt, & qui vnà ſunt aliti, ijs qui contubernales non ſunt.

Polyb. l. 3. Thucid. l. 1. *Turbulento mercenariorum militum motu res Carthaginenſium vexatæ.*

Poſſumus peregrinos illorum conducere maiori mercede: Mercenariæ enim magis quàm vernaculæ ſunt copiæ.

Si

Si quoſdam tentabis regni concuſtodes efficere, nuſquam aliunde priùs incipe, quàm ab eo qui ex eodem loco natus eſt. Xen.Cyr.l.8

Exercitum contractum ex diuerſiſſimis gentibus, vt ſecundæ res tenent, ita aduerſæ diſſoluunt. Tacit.Agric.

Sic Carthaginenſes per milites conductos extraneos, Hiſpanos alios, alios Gallos, Græcos, profugoſq; & ſeruos, in extremum ferè diſcrimen deuenêre. Poly.hiſt.1. fol.32.

Paule Vitelli encampeth before *Caſina*, a place well manned, and prouided of all warlike habillements to hold out a long ſiege: well fortified with ditch, bulwarkes, and rampart. Yet within twenty ſixe howres, after the cannon began to play, the ſtranger ſouldiers within, being the ſtronger part, yeeld vp the towne (maugre the reſt) with condition of their liues and goods ſaued: and leaue the Piſan officers and ſouldiers to the diſcretion of the enemy.

APHORISME XLII.

ALL things requiſite for a worthie Generall, are in himſelfe; either by nature, præcept, or experience; ſaue onely Fortune, which crowneth his other vertues with the wreathe of glory. For, to be fortunate is not in our ſelues, we haue it from aboue. And therefore Knowledge, Valour, Foreſight, and Authority, leade on the Van-gard of their actions with ſmall ſucceſſe, except Fortune bring vp the Reare.

Θεῶ δὲ δῶρον ἐστι, εὐτυχεῖν ϛωτῆς. *Dei domum eſt fælicitas.* Thucyd.

Fælicitas, comes ferè ſemper conſilij eſt & rationis: Sed tamen paulò benigniùs quibuſdam attributa à Deo. Lip.pol.l.4.

Aſſai ben balla à chi fortuna ſuona. Pro.Ital.

Ars militaris plurimùm fortunæ eget. Plato.de Le.

Muriq; vicem Fortuna tuetur. Lucan.l.10.

Fortuna anco più biſogna aſſai,
Che ſenza, val virtù raro, ô mai. Arioſt.Ca.6.

Fortuna plus homini quàm conſilium valet. Senec. Sent.

Multa quæ prouideri non poſſunt, fortuitò in melius caſura. Tacit.an.3.

Conſilium cui impar erat, fato permiſit. Tacit.an.6.

Inde Octauianus nepoti ſuo precatus, grauitatem Pompeij, fortitudinem Cæſaris, fortunam ſuam. Iulian.Cæſa. fol.88.

Vitelli

Vitelli had taken in all the Piſan territory, ſaue onely the fort *Verrucola*, and the ſmall tower of *Aſcano*, not worth the time and expenſe of a ſiege. He ſets downe with his army before *Piſa* it ſelfe: he lieth on the ſouthweſt ſide of the city, rather then on the part towards *Lucca*, becauſe, either he thought the expugnation more eaſie, if he could carrie the fortreſſe *Stampace*, which was on this quarter: or for better conueying of victuals to the campe from the hillie contrie thereabouts: or hoping to finde that part weakeſt, by reaſon the Piſans expected and prepared for him on the other ſide, as he had his firſt direction from *Florence*. Hee plants his Artillery: batters with twenty peeces of canon: makes a large breach betweene *Stampace*, and *Port S. Antonio*: another betweene that and the Sea-port: and diuers others in other places, ſo that in all there was beaten downe one hundred and fiftie fathome of wall. Meane while he diſcouers, that they within had ſtrongly entrenched and fortified againſt him, and had all their forces ranged in good order of battaile to receiue him, if he ſhould giue the aſſault. He wiſely conſiders the danger, and holds fit, firſt to carry *Stampace*, that from thence his Artillery might beate them in flancke; and then, with leſſe danger and more hope to giue vpon them. He therefore bends the cannon vpon this peece: plies the battery all that day and the next night: and by breake of day in the next morning, giues the aſſault, and carries it. The defendants within the inner workes ſeeing this, betake themſelues to flight: they of the campe come brauely on, (but without command) in hope of the ſpoile. *Vitelli* not knowing the aduantage, and reſoluing to make the aſſault yet more eaſie, not onely not leades them on to the trenches, where they had found no reſiſtance, (for the Piſans had quit their inner workes) but ſounds a retreit and infortunatly calles them back, hoping to carry the towne with better aſſurance, & more ſafety of his ſouldiers. The Piſans are ſtaied in their flight, and brought backe to their trenches, which they after made good: and *Vitelli* within few daies is forced to raiſe his ſiege, by reaſon of great infection and mortality in his campe. And ſo, that day which

ſhould

ſhould haue bene victorious to his immortall honour, was the originall of his calamitie and vtter deſtruction: for he was ſhortly after vpon this and other offences laid to his charge, executed in *Florence*.

APHORISME XLIII.

IT *is à hinderance to the generall ſeruice, and a furtherance to the Generals deſtruction, to giue him manifeſt cauſe of diſcontent, and yet after employ him in a great place of charge. For, neither can the State be aſſured of his fidelitie, when he is vſed; nor he of their fauour, when he is accuſed.*

Prouidendum, ne ciui qui inſigni aliqua iniuria affectus eſt, demandetur prouincia adminiſtrandi rem aliquam magni momenti. Macc. diſ. l. 2

Ὁμοίως ἐπισφαλὲς, μαινομένῳ δοῦναι μάχαιραν, καὶ μοχθηρῷ δυνάμιν. *i. Tam eſt periculoſum, malitioſo potentiam, quàm furioſo gladium dare.* Æſchin.

Animos verò eorum qui iniuriam paſsi ſunt nondum didiciſtis, quos metus ſceleratis injiciunt, quas vltrices affectiones in nefarios immittunt. Xenop. Cyr. ad filios.

Tanta in egregio ciue vindictæ cupiditas, vt facilè intelligamus, quid de noſtris hominibus ſperare aut expectare debeamus, ſi quando magna iniuria afficiantur. Macc. diſ. 4. de Claudio.

Neque enim cuiquam mortalium iniuriæ ſuæ paruæ videntur, multi eas grauiùs æquo habuère. Saluſt. Cat.

Ad motum comprimendum, exercitu ampliore, & non inſtrenuo Duce, cui tamen tuto tanta res committeretur, opus eſſe. Suet. in Veſp

Traditos faſces, regio quodam furore retinebant. Flor. l. 1.

Gladium dediſti quo ſe occideret. Adag.

The State of *Florence* had much diſcontented *Paul Vitelli*, by fauouring Count *Rinuccio* in his concurrence with him for the Generalate: by their ſlackneſſe to ſend him neceſſary ſupplies in their Caſentine affaires: by croſſing him in matters of his owne particular: and by their ſuſpicious iealouſie of his truth and fidelitie towards them in his ſeruice. Yet for all this they gaue him chiefe command in their warres vpon *Piſa*. Whence being riſen and gone to *Ligorne*, they ſend Commiſſioners vnto him, vnder pretence to aduiſe with him about the quartering of all his

troopes in garriſon, for the winter following. By them he is arreſted: brought to *Florence*: committed to priſon: and charged with the miſcarriage of the ſiege of *Piſa*: enforcing, that by his fault when *Stampace* was won, the aſſault was not preſently giuen, and the towne taken: that he had diuers times conference with them of *Piſa*, and neuer acquainted their Commiſſaries for the warre with the particular: that he had raiſed the ſiege without the States commandement: that he had ſecretly dealt with diuers Captaines, to keepe ſtill in their hands *Caſina* and *Vico-piſano*, with all the munition therein, that in their paiments or other demands they might force the Florentines to what conditions they liſt: that in the *Caſentino* he had had ſecret intelligence and correſpondencie with the rebell *Medici*: and that at the ſame time he had treated and concluded with the Venetians to be entertained in their pay, had not the ſodaine accord betweene thoſe two States preuented him; and that hereupon he gaue ſafe-conduct to the Duke of *Vrbine* their enemie, and to *Iulian Medici* their proſcript. Mens opinions were diuers concerning his guiltineſſe in theſe articles. But howſoeuer, he is condemned vpon them, not hauing confeſſed any matter capitall: and is preſently put to death, without further triall or examination of witneſſes; leaſt the French king, who was then at *Millan*, ſhould haue demanded the life of ſo great a ſouldier, which they durſt not haue refuſed him.

APHORISME XLIIII.

When [1] we are vnable to hold in ſafetie any thing which is deare vnto vs; the more another deſires the ſafe-keeping of it, and the more he pretends it for our good, the more cautelous and ſcrupulous we ſhould be of entruſting him therewith, leaſt it be for his owne particular end.[2] For it is vnſafe to commit the Lambe to the Wolfes guardiance: and as dangerous it is to put the childe that pretends a iuſt title, into his hands that hath the poſſeſſion.

1 *Nimium*

1 *Nimium difficile est reperiri amicum, ita vt nomen cluet: quoi tuam cum rem credideris, sine omni cura dormias.* Plaut.

Omissa spe fallaci authore, teipsum tuaq; omnia cognitæ permitte fidei. Lip.pol.l.5.

Paucis credas, nec nisi ijs, quorum longo vsu cognita tibi fides. Ibid.

Σώφρονος δ' ἀπιστίας οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο χρησιμώτερον βροτοῖς. *Sapiente diffidentiâ non alia res vtilior mortalibus.* Euripid.

2 *O præclarum custodem ouium (vt aiunt) Lupum.* Cicero.

Sic Gestius Rustium puerum vnà cum pecunia apud se depositum, interfecit. Plut.in paral

Sic Antonius, regem Armeniorum specie amicitiæ illectum, dein catenis oneratum, postremò interfecit. Tacit.an.2.

Eheu quid volui misero mihi? floribus Austrum
Perditus & liquidis immisi fontibus apros. Virg.eclo.2.

Sic Polydorum auri quondam cum pondere magno
Infœlix Priamus furtim mandarat alendum
Threïcio regi.— Polydorum obtruncat, & auro
Vi potitur.— Virg.Æn.3.

Isabella d' Arragon, mother to yong *Galeazzo*, who was sonne and heire to *Iohn Galeazzo* Duke of *Millan*, hath her sonne in her owne custodie, after the death of his poisoned father. His vnkle *Lodowick*, vpon his flight into *Germanie*, desires his mother that she will commit him to his carefull charge, to be conueyed out of that State, and kept safe from the hands of the French, the common enemie. The Ladie wisely refuseth, and keepes him still with her. *Lewes* 12. hath now conquered *Millan*, and is returning home: he perswades the Lady with many flattering speeches, to entrust the youth to his carefull custodie. The improuident and credulous woman simply yeeldeth. The King carries him into *France*, and shuts him vp in a Monastery.

APHORISME XLV.

A 1 *State lately lost by the crueltie and oppression of the Prince, being newly conquered, is preserued by the contrary meanes, and better kept by loue then by force.* 2 *The victor Prince must thinke that he is as well the States, as the State his:* 3 *And therefore he ought be well aduised, not onely how he gouerne himselfe among these new subiects, but also in his absence what gouernour*

he ſubſtitute to keepe them in obedience: leaſt what he got by the ounce, he loſe by the pound; and with more diſhonour in the depriuation, then he had glorie by the purchaſe.

Rag.Stat.l.2 1 *Si come le coſe naturali, ſi conſeruano con quei mezzi, co' quali ſi ſono generate: coſi le cauſe della conſeruazione de gli Stati, ſono l'iſteſſe.*

Tacit.hiſt 4 *Nouum imperium inchoantibus vtilis clementiæ fama.*

Sen.de Ben. *Melius beneficijs imperium cuſtoditur, quàm armis.*

Tac. de Mith *Atrocior quàm nouo regno conduceret.*

Xen.Cyr. l.8 *Non aureum hoc ſceptrum regnum ſeruat, ſed amici multi ſceptrum regibus veriſsimum maximèq; ſecurum.*

Saluſt.Iug. *Non enim exercitus neque theſauri præſidia regni ſunt, verùm amici.*

Liui.l.10. 2 *Illud clarum teſtatumq; eſt, quòd homines fœlicitatem adſequantur, benignitate in alios, & bona de ſe opinione: ijdem cum adepti quæ voluerant, ad iniurias & impotentiam in imperijs dilabuntur, fit meritiſsimò, vt vnà cum imperantium mutatione, ipſi quoque ſubditi ſe & affectus ſuos mutent.*

Sen.de cle. *Ciuium non ſeruitus tibi tradita, ſed tutela: Nec reſp. tam tua eſt, quàm tu reip.*

Claudian. ad Honorium. *Tu ciuem patremq; geras, tu conſule cunctis,*
Non tibi: Nec tua te moueant ſed publica damna.

Taci.hiſt.l.4. *Crebra etſi modica damna, famam partæ victoriæ lacerant.*

Lucan.l.2. *—— Patriæq; impendere vitam,*
Nec ſibi, ſed toti genitum ſe credere mundo.

Idem *——Vrbi pater eſt, vrbiq; maritus,*
Iuſtitiæ cultor, rigidi ſeruator honeſti,
In commune bonus —. &c.

Auſ.de Clau. 3 *Non faciendo nocens, ſed patiendo fuit.*

Tac.de Tib. an.4. *Ne Prouinciæ nouis oneribus turbarentur, vtq; vetera ſine auaritia aut crudelitate magiſtratuum tolerarent, prouidebat.*

Plin.Paneg. *Quibus Ærarium eſt Spoliarium ciuium, cruentarumq; prædarum receptaculum.*

Suet.Tiber. *Tondere pecus decet, non deglubere.*

Am.in Tacit l.4. *I Signori, chi hanno trouato modo d'accreſſergli il Peculio regio, guadagnano à vncie, & perdono à libbre.*

Rag.Stat.l.1 *I Popoli aggrauati ſopra le lor forze, ô diſertano il Paeſe, ô ſi riuoltano contra il lor' Prencipe, ô ſi danno a' nemici.*

Tacit.de Tib *Haueua l'occhio che le Prouincie di nuoue grauezze non foſſero oppreſſate, & le vecchie poteſſero tolerarſi, ſenza che da' Gouernatori loro foſſe l'auarizia ô l'ambizione, ô crudeltà, in parte alcuna vſata.*

Am.Plut.Agis. *Quand vn meſchant homme gouuerne les affairs d'vn Eſtat, il ne faut attendre que d'exactions & ruine du peuple: Mais luy de ſa part, au lieu de s'amender, fortifie ſa tyrannie, meſpriſe les maiſtres, & contraint tout le monde de chercher remede.*

Lewes

Lewes 12. returnes to *France* without good order giuen for the eſtabliſhing and perfect ſetling of his new Gouernement in *Millan*. He leaues *Triultio* Gouernour generall of the whole Duchie: a Millaneſe by birth, a profeſſed enemy to *Lodowick Zforza*, and head of the *Guelph partie*. The citizens are diſtaſted with the inſolent behauiour of the French nation: they grudge that they are not disburthened of all late impoſitions: but moſt of all they repine (eſpecially thoſe of the *Ghibelline Faction*,) at the gouernement of *Triultio*: whoſe carriage is imperious, factious, and full of oppreſſion: too partiall to thoſe of his owne partie, and preiudicate to thoſe of the other: he killes certaine butchers in the market place with his owne hand, for denying to pay the Gabell impoſed vpon fleſh. Hereupon the greater part of the Nobility, and all the Commons in generall, are incenſed againſt him: are weary of the preſent gouernement: wiſh the returne of *Lodowick*, and ſticke not in publike to call vpon his name.

APHORISME XLVI.

CElerity, beſides the inward vertue and actiue life it hath in it ſelfe, hath alſo the outward aſſiſtance of Fortune: vpon which ſhe more willingly and frequently attendeth, then vpon cold and conſiderate conſultation. Wherefore an action once reſolued muſt be put in preſent execution: becauſe nothing more aduanceth the affaire, then expedition.

More fulminis, quod vno eodemq; momento venit, percuſsit, abſceſsit: nec vana de ſe prædicatio eſt Cæſaris, antè victum eſſe hoſtem quàm viſum. Flor. l. 4. c. 4.

Cæſar cum Pharnacem ſuperaſſet, ad amicos ſcripſit, ἦλθον, εἶδον, ἐνίκησα. Plut. in Lac. apopth.

Facto, non conſulto in tali periculo opus eſſe: Maximum bonum in celeritate putabat. Sal. Cat. de Cethego.

Hanc laudem imprimis attribuerunt, Alexandro Curtius, Cæſari Suetonius. Lip. an. 2.

S'arma frettoloſo & con la Spene
Già la vittoria vſurpa, & la preuiene. Taſſo. can. 17

Τὸν δὲ τοῦ πράττειν χρόνον εἰς τὸ παρασκευάζεσθαι ἀναλίσκομεν: οἱ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων καιροὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν βραδύτητα καὶ ῥᾳθυμίαν οὐ μένουσι. *Agendi tempus in apparatu conſumimus: rerum autem occaſiones non expectant ignauiam veſtram & tarditatem.* Demo. Phili.

Tac.an.6. de Artabano. Tacit.hiſt.1. Liui. de Ma. Augu. de Ti. apud.Criſp.

Pergit properus, & præueniens inimicorum æſtus, amicorum pœnitentiam.

Nullius cunctationi locus eſt in eo conſilio, quod non poteſt laudari niſi per actum.

Ita impigrè rem agente, vt ducem abeſſe nec ciues nec hoſtes ſentirent.

O miſerum pop. Rom. qui ſub tam lentis maxillis edit.

Lodowick Zforza and his brother *Aſcanio* haue intelligence from *Millan* into *Germany*, that thoſe citizens diſlike of the French gouernement, and the carriage of *Triultio*: and that they are readie to receiue him againe, if he could finde the meanes to returne with any power. Vpon this ſodaine and welcome newes, he will not expect the Emperours delaied ſuccours: he ſpeedily raiſeth eight thouſand Swiſſe, and three hundred men at armes, Burgognians: he cometh before *Millan*, and repoſſeſſeth himſelfe of that citie, before *Iuo d'Allegri* can come with his troopes to the ſuccours of *Triultio*, hauing a march no farther thẽ from *Romagna*, where he was at that time in the Popes ſeruice. Whereas, if *Zforza* had not preuented him with ſuch incredible ſpeed, all his hopes had bene fruſtrate, and no poſſible meanes left of recouering (nay ſcarce of footing) in that Dukedome.

APHORISME XLVII.

THough[1] *it be true, that the Stateſman as the Steereſman, may ſhape his courſe according to the winde and weather of preſent occurrences, that he may arriue to the harbrough of ſafety; ſailing beſides compaſſe, and ſwaruing from the direct line of ſincere and ouuert dealing:*[2] *Yet may he by no meanes, nor for any end whatſoeuer, be falſe of his faith or breaker of his word.*

Cic. ad Len.

1 *In turbido rerum humanarum Pelago, fas eſt obliquare ſinus: & ſi rectâ portum tenere nequeas, id ipſum mutata velificatione aſſequi.*

Sen.de virt.

Si prudentiam amplecteris vbique idem eris, & prout rerum & temporis varietas exigit, ita te accommodes tempori, nec te in aliquibus mutes: ſicut manus quæ eadem cùm in palmam extenditur, et cùm in pugnum aſtringitur.

Plaut.Perſa.

Si quam rem accures ſobriè & frugaliter,

Solet

Solet illa rectè ſub manus ſuccedere;
Atque ædipol fermè vt quiſquam rem accurat ſuam,
Sic ei procedit. ——

2 *Fidem qui perdit, nil vltrà poteſt.* Senec. Sent.

Priuatim praterea fidem ſuam interponit, quam ille non minoris quàm publicam ducebat. Sal. Cat. de Caſſio.

Vera victoria, quæ ſalua fide, & integra dignitate paratur. Flor. l. 1.

Fac fidelis ſis fideli, caue fidem fluxam geras. Plaut. Capt.

Fides etiam perfidis præſtanda. Lip. pol. 2.

Nec vllæ res vehementius remp. continet quàm fides. Cic. off. 3.

Lodowick Zforza begirts *Nouara* with a ſtreight ſiege. The French garriſon is vnable to hold out long, and in deſpaire of any ſuccour: they capitulate to render, their liues ſaued; and to depart with bag and baggage. *Zforza* ſweares to the articles: many of his Councell perſwade him, that the cutting off of theſe men would be a great meanes of his victory ouer the reſt, and recouery of the whole Duchie: they alledge the authority of Politicians in iuſtification of the fact, and inſtance in the examples of ſome great Princes, who haue violated their faith to get a State, much more was it lawfull for him, in recouery of his owne. He will not be perſwaded to breake his oath: but giues them a ſtrong Guard for their ſafe-conduct, as farre as *Vercelli.*

APHORISME XLVIII.

MErcenary ſouldiers, though leuyed by commiſſion, are worſe then thoſe that are natiues: But ſuch ſtrangers and ſtraglers as are taken vp by drum, are worſt of all. For, their actions are euermore taxed with the diſhonour of cowardiſe, or tainted with the reproach of perfidiouſneſſe. A Prince is therefore to beware of ſuch Swallowes and ſwallowers of the Exchecquer: And not to raiſe them but by publick authority of the State: as alſo, neuer ſo farre to truſt them, as to put his life and fortunes into their hands.

Quamuis res noſtræ ſint pater paupercule,
Modicè & modeſtè melius eſt vitam viuere:
Nam ſi ad paupertatem admigrant infamiæ,
Grauior paupertas ſit, fides ſubleſtior. Plaut Perſa.

Exteri

Lip. è Tacit. Curt. ad Ale. Lip. pol. l. 5. Iuue. Sat. 14 Lucan. Iuue. Sat. 14.

Exteri milites infidi, refractarij, tumultuarij, non fide, non affectu tenentur.
Præferendos tibi censeo genitos milites, non ascitos.
Peregrinum & mercenarium militem, mos induxit, non ratio.
Falsus erit testis, vendet periuria summâ — exiguâ.
Nulla fides pietasq; viris qui castra sequuntur.
Inde ferè scelerum causæ, nec plura venena
Miscuit, aut ferro grassatur sæpius vllum
Humanæ mentis vitium, quàm sæua cupido
Indomiti census. —

Many of the Swisse with *Lodowick* in *Nouara*, had lately reuolted to his side from *Triultio* and the French partie; either for want of pay, or some other treacherous and base end. There were other eight thousand of the same nation, that *Zforza* had raised by the drum, by permission onely, and without any publicke commission of the *Cantons*. In the French army are likewise many Swisse, but all leuied for the Kings seruice by authority. These two armies confront one another so neare, as they are vpon the point to giue battaile. Those on *Lodowickes* side refuse to fight against their owne nation and kindred: they ioyne with them like brothers, and resolue to depart home to their owne countrey. *Zforza* intreats their stay and that daies seruice, euen with teares. Nothing can stoppe their perfidious tergiuersation. He desires (as his last refuge) that at least he may depart in their troopes, for his better safetie from the enemie: They had couenanted otherwise with the French commanders, and flatly denie him this sute. They offer him this onely fauour, to suffer him be apparelled in the habit of one of their ordinarie foote, and if he can so make his escape, to put it to Fortune. The miserable condition of his present estate forceth him to accept of this offer: he marcheth among them like a cõmon souldier through the French troopes. Dilligent search is made for him: he is discouered, and taken prisoner: So are *Galeazzo da San-Seuerino*, *Fracassa* and *Antonio-Maria*, his brethren; clad likewise after the Swisse fashion, and marching on foote like priuate souldiers. The Swisse are not free from the imputation of betraying them thus into the enemies hands.

APHO-

APHORISME XLIX.

SParing[1] *is a good reuenue to a priuate man: but to a Prince nothing is worſe beſeeming his honour, nor indeed more preiudiciall to his affaires.*[2] *For, there is no baite to the golden hooke; nor weapon to the ſiluer ſpeare; nor Fort be it neuer ſo ſtrong, that can long hold out againſt the Mulet charged with treaſure.*

1 *Contrahe, de multis grandis aceruus erit.* Ouid.2 Rem
Diuitiæ grandes homini ſunt viuere parcè. Lucret.5.
Magnum vectigal parſimonia. Adag.Eraſ.
Huic epulæ viciſſe famem, magniq́; penates Lucan.de
Summouiſſe hyemem. Caton.l.2.
Magnæ opes, non tam multa capiendo, quàm haud multa perdendo, quæruntur. Dion.l.52.
Vtere diuitijs tanquam moriturus, & idem Th.Mor è
Tanquam victurus parcito diuitijs: Lucian.
Parcere diuitijs qui tempore nouit & vti,
Ille modum ſeruans inter vtrumque ſapit.

2 *Imperat aut ſeruit collecta pecunia cuique.* Horat. ſerm.
Ἀργυρέαις λόγχαισι μαχῇ, καὶ πάντα νικήσεις. *Argenteis pugna haſtis, & omnia vinces.* Philip.apud Plut.
La plus forte place du monde ſera touſiours priſe: pourueu qu' vn mulet chargé d'eſcuz y puiſſe entrer. Bod.rep.l.5.
Pecuniarum cupiditas Spartam capiet. Eraſ.487.

The Swiſſe in their returne homeward from the warres of *Millan*, take by ſurpriſe the ſtrong towne of *Belinſone*, a place of great importance, ſeated in the mountaines neare Swiſſerland, and ſtopping the paſſage from thence into this Duchie: it is offered to the French king for a ſmall ſumme of money. He, naturally giuen to ſparing, refuſeth the purchaſe: the times alter, and accidents not long after happen, whereupon he would gladly haue had it at a farre higher rate, but could neuer compaſſe it.

APHORISME L.

THat mans happineſſe is greateſt, who hath bene in miſerable condition: for he taſteth the double ſweet, of remembring his fore-paſſed miſery, and enioying his preſent felicitie. So on the contrary, the greateſt miſery is to haue bene happie. Various is the eſtate of men in their greatneſſe, and great is their miſerie in their fall.

Dion.Caſſ. *Non tam rebus ſecundis ſuam fœlicitatem ſentiunt, quàm malis conflictati eam deſiderant.*

Plaut.Trucu *Actutùm fortunæ ſolent mutarier: varia vita eſt: Nos diuitem eum meminimus, atque iſte pauperes nos.*

Plaut.Rud. *Miſerum iſtuc verbum eſt & peſsimum, habuiſſe, & nihil habere.*

Taſſo.can.12 *Cade: e breu' hora, opere ſi lunghe atterra.*

Arioſt.cã.45 *Fidarſi al huomo non ſi conuiene*
In ſuo Teſoro, ſuo Regno, e ſue vittorie
Che ſempre la ſua Ruota in giro verſa.

Taſſo.can.7. *—— Si come il folgore non cade*
In baſſo pian, ma ſu l'eccelſe cime:
Così il furor di peregrine ſpade
Sol de' gran Re l'altere teſte opprime.

Tacit. hiſt 4 *Magna documenta inſtabilis fortunæ, ſummaq; & ima miſcentis.*

Tacit.de Tiber.an.1. *Cuncta mortalium incerta, quantoq; plus adeptus foret, tanto ſe magis in lubrico dictans.*

Arioſt.agg.2 *O vita noſtra di Trauaglio piena*
Come ogni tua allegrezza poco dura:
Il tuo gioir è come Aria Serena
Ch'alla fredda Stagion troppo non dura.

Pro.Hiſp. *Quando tengas mas Fortuna*
Mira que es como la Luna.

Seneca. *—Quicquid in altum*
Fortuna tulit, ruitura leuat.

Arioſt.cant 45. *Quanto più ſul inſtabil Ruota vedi*
Di Fortuna ir in alto al miſerabil huomo:
Tanto più toſto hai à vedergli i piedi
Ou'hor' ha il Capo, e far cadendo il Tomo.

Lodowicke Zforza, late Duke of *Millan*, a Prince of many worthy parts: excellent in eloquence, and other powers of the minde,

minde, and gifts of nature: well deſeruing the titles of Manſuete and mercifull, had he not ſtained this honour with that one infamous taint of procuring his nephewes death: Yet on the other ſide, of an ambitious, troubleſome, and vaine-glorious ſpirit: a vſuall breaker of his word, and ouer-valewer of his owne worth, hardly admitting that any ſhould be held wiſe but himſelfe, or at leaſt to himſelfe comparable; preſuming to carrie all matters to the bent of his owne will, by the dexteritie of his owne wit. This great Prince is brought into *Lions* at noone daies, for the world to gaze vpon, as the liuely modell of humane miſerie. He is not permitted either the ſpeech or ſight of the King, but forthwith committed priſoner to the tower of *Loches*: here he remained ten yeares, and then died; hauing all that time of his durance, thoſe high and vaſte thoughts of his immured within the ſtreights of his priſon walls, which earſt the whole countrey of *Italie* could ſcarce containe.

APHORISMES, CIVIL AND MILITARIE.

LIB. V.

APHORISME I.

AS many men ſinke for want of ſome ſmall thing to hold themſelues vp aboue water: ſo many others fall to the bottome of deſperate ruine, by ſeeking to embrace too much: For to ouer-graſpe straineth and weakeneth the ſinewes, and forceth the hand to let fall what before it held faſt.

It is therefore the part of a wiſe Prince, to ſtint and moderate his fortunes; whom it importeth in his greateſt ſucceſſe, rather to looke backward then forward: and rather to ſtop the current of dangers enſuing, then to follow the ſtreame of that victorie by which they will more be increaſed.

Plaut. 1 *Nimia omnia nimium exhibent negotium hominibus.*

Tacit.an.l.1. *Coercenda intra limites imperia.*

Ouid. art.l.2 *Tu quoque formida nimiùm ſublimia ſemper,*
Propoſitiq́, memor, contrahe vela tui.

Lucan.l.1. *O faciles dare ſumma deos, eademq́, tueri*
Difficiles.

Plut. in Sert. 2 Δεῖ μὲν στρατηγὸν καλὸπιν μᾶλλον, ἢ κατ' πρόσωπον βλέπειν. *Oportet Ducem magis reſpicere quàm proſpicere.*

Tac.an.l.11. *La grandezza meglio ſi cuſtodiſce con gli auueduti & moderati conſigli, che co' precipitoſi & troppo vehementi.*

Liui.l.22. *Non enim ego vt nihil agatur moneo: ſed vt agentem te Ratio ducat non Fortuna.*

Tacit.hiſt.4. *Securitati potiùs quàm potentiæ conſulebant.*

Thucyd.l.7. *Melius præuenire pericula quàm inuenire victorias.*

Bot. è Plut. *Il buon Capitano deue hauer gli occhi non ſolo nella faccia, ma anco nelle ſpalle: & guardarſi non meno da dietro che d'inanzi.*

E' vffizio di prudente Capitano, temer le cose che son degne d'essertemute: antecedendo quanti sono i pericoli, che si tira dietro colui, il quale del continuo attende ad occupar quello d'altri. Am. Tac. l. 1.

Lewes 12. hath made a speedie, fortunate, and full conquest of the Duchie of *Millan*. The Pope, Venetians, and Florentines are in confederation with him. The other inferior Princes and States of *Italy* haue made their peace, either by mediation of their friends, or by money. His way lies open to *Naples*: his title good: his forces great, and in a readinesse. But on the other side he sees *Maximilian* the Emperor and all the States of *Germany* offended, that so faire a branch as *Millan* should be lopped and dismembred from the Empire. He heares his Embassador is dismissed and discharged that Court. He vnderstands that a *Diet* is called, and all those States summoned, to determine the speedy recouery of that Duchie by the sword. Vpon these weighty considerations of the great preparations intended against him, and fearing that the getting of more might be the cause of losing what he had already gotten, he giues ouer for this time the enterprise of *Naples*.

APHORISME II.

Since[1] *Profit began to ouer-ballance Honour, men traffick their friendship and protection for money: So much are these times for gold: But in the golden times, onely Religion, Iustice, and the publick Quiet, were the three Ioynt-purchasers of aide and friendship.*[2] *Wherfore that old rule ought still stand in force, and when the case is betweene Honour and aduantage, the publick negotiator (aswell as the Prince himselfe) ought to haue the equity of the cause, and honour of his master, in more especiall recommendation.*

1 *Pecunia, ex quo in honore esse cœpit, verus rerum honos cecidit.* Senec. epist.
In pretio pretium nunc est, dat census honores, Ouid.
Census amicitias.——

2 *Honor, maximum bonorum externorum.* Arist. eth. l. 8.

Ario. Ca.38. *L'Honor è di più preggio che la vita,*
Ch' à tutti altri piaceri è preferita.

Plut.in Lac. apopth. *Interrogatus quo quis pacto regnum optimè conseruet: respondit, Si lucrum posthabeat.*

Am.in Tac. lib.4. *Gl' altri huomini nelle lor imprese & deliberazioni considerano quello solo che loro possa esser vtile & profitteuole. Ma la condizione de' Prentipi è d'altra sorte: & principalmente, di douere nelle Azioni loro, auuertire alla fama, & nome loro.*

Arist.rhet.l.1 *Quorum præmium honor est atque laus, longè præstantiora sunt, quàm ea quorum præmium est pecunia.*

Arioſt.Cant. 38. *A l'honor che gli manca in vn momento,*
Non può in cento anni satisfar, nè in cento.

Claudian. *Emitur sola virtute potestas.*

Arist.pol.8. *Vtilitatem vbique quærere non congruit magnanimo & ingenuo homini.*

Horat. *Vilius virtutibus aurum.*

Ario.Agg.2. *A' la vita l'honor s'ha da proporre,*
Fuor che l'honor non altra cosa alcuna:
Prima che mai lasciarti l'honor torre
Dei mille vite perdre, non che vna.

The Florentines importune the French King, to haue that aide from him for the recouery of *Pisa*, to which he was tied by the articles of the last treaty, and by his oath: They of *Pisa*, *Genoa*, *Lucca*, and *Siena*, instantly labour the contrary. He referres the matter to the Cardinall of *Roan*, who was then gouernor, and resiant in *Millan*. These cities make offer, that in case *Pisa*, *Pietrasanta*, and *Montepulciano*, may be freed of the warre and molestation of the Florentines, to giue the King in present money one hundred thousand Duckats: Besides, if the Pisans may peaceably enioy their owne territories and *Ligorne*, they will couenant to pay him yearely fiftie thousand Duckats for euer. *Triultio* and *Iohn-Lewes Fiesco*, two other of the Kings principall officers, are both of them earnest solliciters and sutors in their behalfe, and vrge how much it imported the Kings affaires in *Italy*, to keepe the Florentines low. But the Cardinall hath more respect to his masters honour, engaged to this State both by couenant and oath, then to these large offers, or politicke ends. He sends them the aide demanded.

APHORISME III.

POwer[1] and worth in the Commander beget feare and loue in the ſouldier: and they are in warre as heate and moiſture are in nature: They giue life and growth to the ſeruice in hand; without them, both to will and to do withereth in the army: For where his power hath no vertue of heate to enforce and enflame the ſouldiers cold ſtomacke to courage, nor his worth the power of moiſture to ſupple and quicken his dull limmes to the action, there the hope of all good ſucceſſe doth wither and decay.[2] Men are not therefore to be dignified with thoſe high places, that are not qualified with thoſe noble partes.

1 *Authoritatis proles, fœlicitas.* Curt.
Habendus metus aut faciendus eſt. Lip.pol.l. 2.
Vehementer pertinet ad bella adminiſtranda, quid hoſtes, quid ſocij, de imperatoribus exiſtiment. Cic. pro leg. Man.
Vn Generale deue di tanto auanzare gli altri di virtù, quanto di dignità. Parut diſ.l.1
Multa auctoritate: quæ viro militari profacundia erat. Tacit. An.15
Seueritas amorem, facilitas auctoritatem diminuit. Tacit. Agric.
Omnes hi Præfecti hoc primum habebant, quòd à ſubditis colerentur. Xen.Cyr.l.2.
Quia ſupplicia Ducis metuebant, magis obſeruantes ordinis erant. Xen.de exp. Cyr.
2 *Mars gradiuus dictus, non quòd per ſaltum ſed gradatim ad officia militaria promotio fieri debeat.* Ammirat.l.3
Cyrus præmia proponebat ordinum ductoribus (ſed optimis) vt fierent Tribuni: primipilis verò (ſed optimis) vt fierent ordinum ductores. Xen. inſt. Cyr.l.2.
Quales Præfecti, tales etiam qui ſub ipſis ſunt frequentiùs fiunt. Xenop. Cyr. pæd. 8.

The Cardinall of *Roan* ſendes ſixe hundred Lances, and fiue thouſand Swiſſe, to the ſeruice of the Florentines againſt *Piſa*: the King to pay the Lances; they the Swiſſe. The Florentines affying much in *Beaumont*, will needes obtaine him of the King for the Generall of their army, becauſe he had formerly with ſuch readineſſe ſurrendred them *Ligorne*, vpon the Kings commandement: A man of meane ranke, leſſe experience, and leaſt authority among the French Commanders. The King had aſſigned to this charge *Iuo d'Allegri*, a Commander well practiſed in the warre, of a noble family, of farre greater reputation then the other,

other, and one whom the army would more willingly haue obeyed. This ill made choiſe of theirs was chiefe cauſe of all the ill ſucceſſe which ſhortly after hapned in that ſeruice.

APHORISME IIII.

MEn[1] can ſee to do right betweene partie and partie, when it concernes not their owne particular: But being parties themſelues, the caſe is altered. For here they which before were as ſharpe ſighted as Lynx, turne as blinde as a Mole: and no maruaile,[2] for profit and bribes put out the eyes of Iuſtice. Wherefore let him that would ſpeed in an honeſt cauſe neuer referre it to a corrupt Iudge.

Plut. de Curioſit.

1 *Lamiam domi dormire cæcam, oculis in vaſculo repoſitis: foràs autem egreſſam inſerere oculos & videre: ita quiſq; noſtrûm, &c.*

Eraſ. adag.

In alienis rebus Lynceis oculis cernimus, in noſtris cæcutimus.

Plut. Demo.

Sic ictus munere Demoſthenes, adiunxit ſe Harpalo: fingens vocem ſibi præcluſam eſſe.

I. ip. pol. 4.

2 *Aurum perſtringit oculos.*

Claudian.

Corrumpentia ſenſus dona.

Cic. off. l. 2.

Nullum vitium tetrius auaritia, præſertim in Principibus & reip. gubernatoribus.

Poet. græc. Phocylid.

Τὸ ἄργυριον ἔστιν αἷμα καὶ ψυχὴ βροτοῖς. *Pecunia ſanguis & vita hominibus,*

Ἡ φιλοχρημοσύνη μήτηρ κακότητος ἁπάσης. *Vniuerſæ nequitiæ mater, amor nummi.*

Adag.

Virtutem & Sapientiam vincunt teſtudines. i. Numiſmata: (Numiſma antiquitùs dictum χελώνη, *ab inſculpta teſtudine.)*

Salu. de rep.

Militia præmijs exercetur, vbi ea demiſeris nemo omnium gratuitò malus eſt.

The Cardinall had worthily reſpected and preferred the honour of his maſter before his profit, by performance of couenants with the Florentines, in ſending them preſent aide and promiſing reaſſurance and furréder of their cautionary townes. The French forces take in *Pietraſanta*, which was one of thoſe townes in caution, and diſpoſſeſſe the *Luccheſi* thereof: who offer the Cardinall a round ſumme of money, not to deliuer it into the Florentines hands. He accepts their money: takes them into the

the Kings protection, and holds the place in *depoſito*, till the controuerſie be decided betweene them: contrary to what he had formerly and faithfully promiſed.

APHORISME V.

RAſhneſſe[1] *is obnoxious to all manner of ambuſh and ſurpriſe: it is hot at hand, but tireth at length: and hauing vented the firſt furie, dieth like a waſpe that hath loſt her ſting. Wherefore men muſt looke before they leape, and conſider the danger before they runne into it: leaſt as they go on with ſmall heed, they come off with leſſe gaine.*[2] *For as the Puffen, a fiſh of all other the moſt dull and ſlow, is often found with a Mullet in his belly, of all other fiſhes the moſt ſwift in ſwimming: ſo wiſe and well aduiſed men do alwaies ouertake and ouerthrow the head-ſtrong and haſtie.*

1 *Temeritas, præterquàm quòd ſtulta eſt, eſt etiam infœlix.* Liu.l.22.
Feſtinatum temerè bellum pari formidine deſerunt. Tac.an.l.4.
—— Si cede al periglio Taſſo.can.19
Ch'audace appare improuido conſiglio.
Peccat penè neceſſariò qui feſtinat. Quòd ſi tamen non labitur, quid efficit? parum. Lip.pol.l.5.
Πρὸς γὰρ πᾶσαν ἐπιβολὴν, ἕνεδραν, ἀπάτην, ἑτοιμός ἐστι πιθανός. *Facilis hic talis eſt ad omnem circumuentionem, fraudem, dolum.* Polyb.l.3.
Seiano cognoſceua che Druſo era giouane molto feroce, & però più ageuole ad ingannarſi, & più atto a mal capitare, per la ſteſſa ferocità ſua. Am.in Tacit an.l.4.
Brutino era aſſai perito, ſe ei ſi foſſe indrizzato per buon camino, & itoſene con lento paſſo, ma egli fece troppa fretta. Am.in Tacit an.l.3.
Incogitantes fors non conſilium rapit. Auſon.92.f.
2 *Argumentum ſolertiæ Paſtinacarum hoc eſt, quòd cum ſint piſcium tardiſſimi, Mugilem tamen omnium velociſſimum in ventre habentes reperiuntur.* Plin.nat.hiſt l.9.c.42.
Differ, habent parua commoda magna mora. Ouid.3.Faſt.
Aſſumpſit vires, auctag; flamma morâ eſt. Ouid.epiſt.

Beaumont is ſet downe before *Piſa*, betweene the gates *Alle-Pioggie* and *Calceſana*. The artillery batters all the firſt night, and greateſt part of the next day: an aſſaultable breach is made of thirtie fathome. The ſouldiers, horſe and foote runne pell-mell

to the assault, without any direction from their Commanders, or order among themselues: not considering how they were to passe a ditch, which the Pisans had made very deepe, betweene the breach and their innerworkes. Discouering now the breadth and depth of this trench, and how the defendants were there ready to receiue them, they stand rather like gazers on the difficultie, then souldiers that should assaile it, and fall coldly off, without giuing any further attempt.

APHORISME VI.

THere[1] *is nothing so dangerous in a State or Campe, as contempt of the Prince or Generall: there is nothing breeds it more in the subiect or souldier, then remisnesse and lenitie. For he that suffereth one mischiefe passe vnpunished, inuiteth another, which bringeth the command into discredit, and the seruice into despaire.*[2] *Wherfore, as in men of great ranke, it is lesse blame-worthy to be ouer-stately and imperious, then ouer-familiar and base: So in men of great office, it is a lesse fault to be ouer-rigorous, then not to punish offenders at all.*

Lip.pol.l.5. Id.an.l.3.

1 *Faciles isti & mites vilescunt.*

Bis noxij, in se & in remp. qui Plebi reuerentiam excutiunt, & licentiam præbent peccandi.

Appian.

Austeri Duces, suis: faciles, hostibus sunt vtiles.

Tac.de Corbolon.an.11

2 *Legiones veterem ad morem reduxit: ne quis agmine discederet, nec pugnam nisi iussus iniret, &c. Feruntq; militem quia vallum non accinctus, atque aliam quia pugione tantùm accinctus foderet, morte punitos.*

Tacit. an.13.

Corbuloni plus molis aduersus ignauiam militum, quàm contra perfidiam hostium erat.

Lucan.l.3. de Cæs.

——Gaudet tamen esse timori
Tam magno populis, & se nec mallet amari.

The General *Beaumont* punished not that first fault of his souldiers, in running to the breach without either direction or order. His armie growes therefore daily more careless of him: They go in and out of the armie at pleasure, and conuerse and com-

commerce with the Piſans as friends. They ſticke not openly to iuſtifie their cauſe againſt the Florentines. *Trivltio* and *Iohn-Iacob Palauſini* giue them encouragement: *Vitellozzo* ſends *Tarlatino* to the ſuccours of *Piſa*. The French know of his comming, and yet ſuffer him and his troupes to enter the towne without impeachment. The victuals that were comming to the campe, themſelues cut off by the way, that their Generall might be forced to raiſe the ſiege. He now wanteth as much authoritie, as at firſt he did care, to redreſſe thoſe diſorders. The Gaſcoigns mutine, and forſake the campe: the Dutch do the like: the Swiſſe go after the reſt: and then the French lances: leauing the Florentine affaires in great extremitie.

APHORISME VII.

SI in Schoole diſputations, where one abſurditie is granted, infinite others follow: ſo in thoſe actions of State which are diſputed by the ſword, one error begets another, and this a third, a worſe: [2] eſpecially in thoſe men that will not acknowledge their firſt ouerſight: who, howſoeuer they ſeeke to transferre the imputation and blame vpon others, the loſſe and ſhame lighteth on themſelues.

1 *Vno abſurdo dato, infinita conſequuntur.* Ariſt int. l. 2.
Finis vnius principium alterius eſt mali. Seneca.
Nelle coſe della guerra, s'aggiongono ſempre à diſordini, di ordini nuoui. Por. in Guic.
Ἐξ ὀλίγου τὰ πολλά. *Anceps conditio bellorum, & ex paruo fiunt multa.* Thucyd. f. 52
Ideo Lyſimachus dicere ſolebat, Duces in bello errantes nulla venia dignos eſſe: vbi, ſi quid offenditur temeritate vel inſcitia, emendari non poteſt. Alex. in genial. l. 2.
Præliorum enim delicta emendationem non recipiunt. Lip. pol. l. 5.
2 *Quoties aliquid inopinatum accidit, conſueuimus incuſare fortunam.* Thucyd. l. 1.
Magno ſe iudice quiſque tuetur. Lucan. l. 1.
Quantò quis magis inficiatur vitium ſuum, tantò magis in ipſum penetrat: & quantò magis intrò fugies, tantò magis in caupona eris. Plut. de prof. virtut.

The deſaſtrous ſucceſſe before *Piſa*, hapning to the Florentines through their owne error in the bad choiſe of their Gene-

rall, is ſeconded with another worſe then the firſt, and imputable onely to their owne fault. It was thus: The French king is highly diſpleaſed with the miſcarriage of that ſeruice, as well in regard that his good allies the Florentines ſhould ſuſtaine ſuch a warre at ſo great a charge to ſo litle purpoſe: as that the glorie of his army which earſt had triumphed almoſt ouer all *Italy*, ſhould now loſe that reputation, by being ſo ſhamefully forced to leaue a towne, wherin were no other defendants but inhabitants, and no ſouldier of marke to command them. He laies the blame and iuſtly vpon themſelues; yet deſirous to repaire their loſſe, and his owne credit, he wils them to conſent that his French troupes may be quartered for that winter in the Piſan territory: and in the opening of the yeare, he aſſures them of their ſeruice, and doubts not of a more fortunate ſucceſſe. The Florentines will by no meanes acknowledge their owne error: they transferre it vpon the French troupes, and refuſe this honourable offer. They of *Siena*, *Lucca* and *Genoa*, perceiuing the King whom ere while they durſt not offend, to be now fallen from the Florentines, begin openly to aide the Piſans with men and mony, and driue the Florentines into worſe ſtreights of difficultie, then euer they were before. And for a greater addition to their troubles, the two factions in *Piſtoia*, of the *Panciatici* and the *Cancelieri*, at that very inſtant turne their ſecret grudges and heart-burnings into action of open hoſtilitie and bloud-ſhed, to the diſturbance of the whole State, and hinderance of the Piſan ſeruice. Againſt which miſchiefe alſo the Florentines tooke no timely order for redreſſe.

APHORISME VIII.

Among[1] *Sutors in loue and in law, money is a common medler, and driues the bargaine and buſineſſe to an vp-ſhot: By it, thoſe contract their mariage, and theſe conclude their peace:*[2] *But it is no ſure contracter of friendſhip between States. Amity baptiſed in*

in this water is ſoone renounced: and bonds that are knit by this knot, are eaſily by the ſame diſſolued.

1 *Chi per alcun accidente, non per bene diſpoſta volontà, ſi fa amico, ſcuoprendoſi per altro caſo & per qualche mutazione di coſe i più veri affetti: reſta non pure come prima nemico, ma per qualche nuouo diſguſto più acerbo.* Parut. l. 2. dil. 5.

Vt cuique homini res parata eſt, firmi amici ſunt: ſi labant res laſſæ, itidem amici collabaſcunt. Plaut. Stich.

Non aliud maius amoris magni indicium noui, quàm pecunia. Ariſtain. l. 1.

Argentum modò adſit, omnia conſient. Ariſtain. l. 1.

Caduceus amicarum cenſeri debet auro Babylonico. Id. l. 2. ep. 1.

2 *Non ſunt fideles in amicitia, quos munus non gratia copulat.* Iſidor.

Tales amicitiæ celeriter dirimuntur. Ariſt. eth. l. 8.

Negotiatio eſt non amicitia, quæ ad commodum accedit. Seneca.

Plenæ querelarum & criminationum omnes amicitiæ, quæ fructibus & emolumentis diriguntur. Ariſt. eth. l. 8.

Romana reſp. amicitias auro nunquam comparauit. Mac. diſ. l. 1.

Gaigner les hommes per argent, eſt vne ruſe ſotte & meſchante, car il n'y a point de foy en des amys d'argent. Am Plut. Phoc.

Frederick King of *Naples* giues the Emperor *Maximilian* forty thouſand Duckats: bindes himſelfe to pay him euery moneth fifteene thouſand more, towards the maintenance of his warres againſt the French King. The Emperor promiſeth to begin the warre in *Millan*, (if the caſe ſo require) to diuert the French from *Naples*: and vowes neuer to come to any accord with him, except he alſo compriſe the King of *Naples*. The French will haue truce with the Emperor at what rate ſoeuer, before he ſet forward againſt *Frederick*. He vſeth the Archdukes mediation, who was Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Emperors Sonne. The Duke vnwilling his Merchants ſhould loſe their trafficke and commerce with *France*, and deſirous to match his young ſonne *Charles* with *Claude* the Kings daughter, and the Duchie of *Millan* in dower with her, (which was then propounded) worketh a truce betweene his father and the French for many moneths, and preuaileth. Among many articles of that accord, theſe were two, the Emperor to haue a certaine ſumme of money, and the King of *Naples* to be excluded out of the truce.

APHORISME IX.

IT [1] *is ſo farre from ſcandall or reproofe, to circumuent and entrap a publicke and profeſſed enemy, as it is rather iuſt, lawfull, and profitable, be it by any meanes poßible but by breach of oath or couenant:* [2] *For, but vpon relyance of one of theſe, an enemy is not properly ſaid to be deceiued. But to betray a kinſeman, friend, and confederate, is contrary to all law, odious to all men, iniurious to the party, and impious to God.*

Plut. Ageſ. 1 *Fœderatum iniuſtè fallere, impium: at hoſtes, non ſolùm iuſtum, ſed etiam ſuaue & fructuoſum eſt.*

Plaut. Perſa. *Hanc rem exorſus ſum facetè & callidè,*
Igitur prouenturam benè confido mihi.

Lip. pol. l. 5. *Etiam Romani veteres, auidi aliâs & tenaces virtutis & fidei ſeruandæ, quendam bonum dolum dicebant.*

Virg. Æn. 2 *Mutemus clypeos, Danaumq́, inſignia nobis*
Aptemus, dolus an virtus quis in hoſte requirit?

Thucyd. l. 6. *Ne ſemper ab ijs caueatis, aliquando vos ipſis inſidias tendite.*

Macc l. 3. *Vſus fraudis in cæteris actionibus deteſtabilis, in bello gerendo laudabilis.*

Virg. l. 12. *——Quantum ipſe feroci*
Virtute exuperas, tanto me impenſiùs æquum eſt
Conſulere.

Lip. pol. l. 4. 2 *Fraus triplex: prima lenis, vt diſſimulatio, & diffidentia: hanc ſuadeo. Secunda media, vt conciliatio & deceptio: illam tolero. Tertia magna, vt perfidia & iniuſtitia: iſtam damno.*

Petrarch. *Proditore turpius nihil vnquam ſol vidit: cuius obſcœnitas tanta eſt, vt & qui artificio eius egent, execrentur artificem: & qui cæterorum ſcelerum famam quærunt, huius infamiam reformident.*

Ario. Ca. 40. *Sa ben quanto à mal termine, & à mal porto*
E come ſpeſſo in van ſoſpira e geme,
Chiunq́ il Regno ſuo ſi laſcia torre,
E per ſoccorſo à Barbari ricorre.

Though *Lewes* 12. be aſſured of the Emperor, yet in his enterpriſe vpon *Naples*, he feares to haue the King of *Spaine*, Venetians, and Pope, oppoſite to him, in iealouſie of his greatneſſe. He therefore treates with the Spaniard about the ſharing of that kingdome betweene them. The Spaniſh King had euer ſince

the conqueſt which his grandfather *Alphonſo* made vpon *Naples*, held his owne title good, and himſelfe wronged by the Neapolitane Kings: yet he couered his diſcontent with a Spaniſh craft and patience, and had continued in all good offices of parentade and amity with thoſe kings: he had giuen his ſiſter in mariage to old *Ferdinand*, and his conſent to her daughters mariage with *Ferdinand* the yonger. Now therefore, the ſame ambitious deſire conturring in theſe two great Princes: in the one, to remoue all obſtacles to what he had formerly deſſeigned, in the other, to haue a ſhare in that whereto he pretended, they accord vpon this partage: The French King to haue the citie of *Naples*, with all the *Terra di Lauoro*, and Prouince of *Abbruzzo*: The Spaniſh King to hold the Prouince of *Calabria* and *Puglia*. That this practiſe ſhall be kept ſecret till the French kings army were aduanced on the way, as farre as *Rome*: till which time, the Embaſſadors of them both ſhould beare the Pope in hand, that theſe great preparations were made by their Maſters for a warre vpon the Infidels and the generall good of Chriſtendome: but that then they ſhould require the inueſtiture from the Pope, according to the tenor of this accord: The Spaniſh King to be entitled Duke of *Calabria* and *Puglia*: and the French, King of *Naples* and *Ieruſalem*. Now *Frederick*, not diſcouering this complot, and vnderſtanding that the French forces, of one thouſand lances, foure thouſand Swiſſe, and ſixe thouſand foote of Gaſcoigns and other French, were aduanced as farre as *Tuſcany*; and not knowing that the Spaniſh *Armada* in *Sicilia* (vnder ſhew of friendſhip and aſſiſtance) was prepared and there ready againſt himſelfe, deſires *Conſaluo* the *Gran Capitano*, and chiefe Commander of the Spaniſh forces, to bring that fleete to *Gaetta*, for his ſuccours. *Conſaluo* vnder colour of ſafe retreite for his ſouldiers (but indeede to make his maſters purchaſe more eaſie) demands poſſeſſion of certaine townes in *Calabria*, till the warres were ended, and then to be againe ſurrendred. They are deliuered freely, without any ſuſpition had, or caution taken. Thus is the poore credulous Prince moſt deceiued by his neareſt kinſman, and greateſt

greateſt friend, and in whoſe power and loue he moſt of all affied.

APHORISME X.

PErfidious violation of oath and couenant is as damnable as Atheiſme (if not more:) Becauſe it wilfully and wittingly abuſeth and ſcorneth that Deity, which it neceſſarily, though vnwillingly acknowledgeth. But when it is accompanied with vnnaturall luſt, and vnhumane cruelty, hell hath not a fit name, nor the world a ſufficient puniſhment for it.

Bod.rep.l.5. *La Pariure eſt plus execrable que l'Atheiſme: d'autant que l'Atheiſme qui ne croit point en Dieu, ne luy fait pas tant d'iniure (ne penſent point qu'il y en ait) que celuy qui ſçait bien, & le pariure par mocquerie.*

Iuue.Sat.13. *Tam facile & pronum eſt ſuperos contemnere teſtes.*

Idem. *Hic putat eſſe Deos, & peierat.*

Æſo.fol.82 *Sed licet homines peierantes lateamus, Deum tamen non latebimus.*

Claudi. Eut. *Et ruit in vetitum damni ſecura libido.*

Menander. Θεὸν ἐπιορκῶν μὴ δόκει λελῆθέναι. *i. Deum deierans ne putes latere.*

Ariſto. rhæt. ad Alex. Οὔκ ἐπιορκεῖν, φοβούμενος τὴν τε παρὰ τῆς θεῶν πυρίαν, καὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἀισχύνην. *Ne peiera: timens ſupplicium à Deo, & ab hominibus infamiam.*

Claudian. in Curæt. *In prolem dilata ruunt periuria patris,*
Et pœnam merito filius ore luit.

Bod.rep.l.5. *Puis que la foy eſt ſeul fondement & appuye de Iuſtice, ſur laquelle ſont fondées toutes les Republiques, Alliances, & Societez des hommes: auſsi fault il qu'elle demeure ſacrée & inuiolable, és choſes que ne ſont point iniuſtes.*

Bod.de Lyſa Plut. *Se vantoit de tromper les grands aux ſermens, & les enfants aux oſſeletes.*

Duke *Valentinois*, after a long ſiege before *Faenza*, capitulates with the towne, and with *Aſtorre Manfredi*, Lord thereof. He binds himſelfe by oath (vpon ſurrender of the place) to ſaue the liues and goods of the inhabitants, and to giue *Manfredi* his liberty to liue where he liſt, with fruition of his owne proper inheritance. They yeeld vpon theſe conditions. He keepes his word with the *Faentines*: but *Manfredi*, a beautifull yong gentleman vnder eighteene yeares of age, is ſtaied by the Duke: vnder pretence to haue him brought vp in his Court: and at firſt is entertained with all honourable demonſtration. But ere long, his innocent youth is forced

forced to yeeld to the perfidious cruelty of the victor: by whom, after satisfaction (as was said) of his filthy and vnnaturall lust, he and his base brother are murthered in *Rome*.

APHORISME XI.

THankes for benefits receiued, are turned into hate when they are so great as they cannot be requited; or when they are bestowed vpon him who takes them as done of dutie or necessitie, and is vnwilling to requite them. For in such a man, the desire of hauing more, is stronger to wrong his friend and make war vpon him, then the memory of kindnesses receiued, either to requite those former fauours, or relinquish the action vndertaken.

Beneficia vsque eò læta sunt, dum videntur posse exolui: vbi multùm antenumêre, pro gratia odium redditur. Tacit. an. l. 4.

Quidam quò plus debent magis oderint. Senec. ep. 19

Leue es alienum, debitorem facit, graue inimicum. Ibid.

Adiutoribus imperij, pro necessitudinis iure, próque meritorum gratia, cruenta mors persoluta est. Suet. in Cali.

Et dum quærendis inhiat, quæsita non meminit. Per. Dial. 93.

Sic Aries nutricationis mercedem persoluit. Κεὶος τροφεῖα ἀπέτισεν. *i. Aries alituram rependit.* Adag. 292.

Valentinois, after the taking in of *Faenza*, is created Duke of *Romagna* by the Pope his father, with approbation of the Consistory. *Vitellozzo* and *Orsini*, chiefe Leaders vnder him, and professed enemies to *Florence*, (the one for reuenge of his brother *Vitellies* death, the other for the restoring of his banished friend *Peter Medici*) perswade the Duke to take the aduantage of the time, and to warre vpon that State, now while the French king stands so highly displeased with her. The Florentines had neuer wronged either him or his father: they had done them many fauours and offices of friends: they had at his instance renounced the protection of the *Riarij* and their estates, to which they were bound by article of couenant: they had giuen him free passage through their country, of victuals and other prouisions for his

armie in *Romagna*. All this notwithſtanding, he embraceth the motion to warre vpon them: and for the firſt engageure thereof, ſends *Liuerotto da Fermo* with three hundred horſe to the ſuccors of *Piſa*.

APHORISME XII.

IT is a damnable policie to make thoſe whoſe confuſion thou doeſt wiſh, the inſtruments of their owne deſtruction: and no leſſe diuelliſh a deuice it is, to draw men into the complice of thine offence, that they may bee copartners of thy puniſhment.

Am.Pl.Grac — *Les hommes tranſportez de l'eſprit de vengeance, n'omettent indignité quelconque qu'ils ne practiquent, pour executer leurs cruels deſſeigns.*

Am.Pl. Agis — *Les tyrans aident à deffaire ceux, de qui ils ſe ſont ſeruis, & les trahiſſent malheureuſement.*

Id.ibid. — *Qui a l'enuie de ruiner vn autre, ietta la conſcience au loin, & ſe ſoüille de trahiſon, pour y paruenir.*

Saluſt.Iug. — *Statuit eum obiectare periculis, & eo modo fortunam tentare: Sperans vel oſtentando virtutem, vel hoſtium ſæuitiâ eum occaſurum.*

Liui.l.4. — *Sic Tolumnius Fidenates cruento ſcelere interficiendi Legatos implicuit, ne ſpem vllam à Romanis poſsint reſpicere.*

Saluſt.Cat. — *Sic Catilinam, populares ſceleris ſui vt fidos faceret tanti facinoris conſcios, humani corporis ſanguinem vino permixtum in pateris circumtuliſſe.*

Lucan.l.5. — *Facinus quos inquinat, æquat.*

Valentinois enters into the confines of *Bologna*, reſolues to vſurp vpon that State, and expell *Bentiuoglio*: receiues expreſſe charge and commandement from the French king, not to proceed in the enterpriſe, becauſe *Bentiuoglio* and that State are vnder his protection. He obeyeth perforce, and accords with *Bentiuoglio*: yet, for that he wiſhed the ruine of him and of that State, and that he might incurre the citizens hatred, and put all in danger, he perſwades him that the family *Mareſcotti* had called him and his troupes to thoſe confines, and had intelligence with him for the attempt. The *Mareſcotti* are a noble and great houſe in *Bologna*: *Bentiuoglio* murthereth them almoſt all: his ſonne *Hermes*, and diuers

diuers yong Lords of the towne are miniſters of this bloudy execution, whom *Bentiuoglio* purpoſely drew into the maſſacre; that their hands being embrued in the bloud of the *Mareſcotti*, and as deeply engaged in the act as he, they might be hated of that family and their friends as well as himſelfe, and bound to deſire the conſeruation of his eſtate, or forced to runne like misfortune with him.

APHORISME XIII.

IF it be lawfull to capitulate and couenant with the enemie, it is vnlawfull and vniuſt not to keepe touch vpon the accord. If faith be not to be kept with ſuch, why then doeſt thou capitulate? In contracts therefore of truce or peace, take heed how thou truſt him in any thing, who is ready to yeeld to euery thing. For he that ſpeaketh much more then he thinketh, performeth alwaies much leſſe then he ſpeaketh.

Si la foy ne doit eſtre gardée aux ennemis, elle ne doit pas eſtre donnée: & au contraire, s'il eſt licite de capituler auec les ennemis, auſsi eſt il neceſſaire de leur garder la foy. Bod.rep.l.4.

Celuy qui iure pour tromper ſon ennemi, il monſtre euidémment, qu'il ſe mocque de Dieu, & ne craint que ſon ennemi. Id.ibid.

Ἐχθρὸς γὰρ μοὶ κεῖνος ὁμῶς Ἀΐδαο πυλῄσιν
ὅς χ' ἕτερον μὲν κεύθει ἐνὶ φρέσιν, ἄλλο δὲ βάζει. i.
Inimicus enim ille mihi æquè ac inferni portæ, qui aliud quidem occultat animo, aliud verò dicit. Homer.Il.9.

Cum inducie nondum exiſſent, turpe fuiſſet victori Anglo violare inducias. Polyd.l.19.

Promeſſo gli ho, non gia per oſſeruargli
(Che fatto per timor nullo è il contratto)
Ma la mia intention fu per vietargli
Quel, che per forza harebbe alhora fatto. Arioſt.can.2.

The Florentines and *Valentinois* are accorded: He, becauſe the French king was diſpleaſed with his enterpriſe vpon that State: and they, becauſe they feared the returne of *Peter Medici*. Though *Valentinois* out of an old grudge he bare to *Medici*, intended nothing leſſe then his good, howſoeuer he fed him with

vaine hopes, and made him the Stale of his owne ambitious purpose: for he thought by this meanes to winne some towne of importance from the Florentines, or to force them to a farther agreement for his owne aduantage. The Articles agreed vpon are these: A confederation defensiue betweene them: In generall, not to aide the one the others rebels: More expresly, they not to assist the Lord of *Piombino*; he not to defend the Pisans. To giue him entertainement with three hundred men at armes for three yeares: and a yearely pension of thirtie sixe thousand Duckats. This accord made, he marcheth to *Signa*; burnes and spoiles all by the way, as if it had bene in the enemie countrey: knowing that they onely entertained him in their pay, to be rid of him for the present. He sends to demaund artillery of them, for his dessеigned enterprise vpon *Piombino*: and that they would aduance a quarters impreſt of his entertainment. That former, they flatly denie, as not being compriſed in the couenants. This other, they cunningly deferre, being resolued not to performe that at all to which they had yeelded by force, and whereof they had assurance from their Ledger in the French Court, that the King would free them.

APHORISME XIIII.

A Large kingdome is a great morsell, yet not enough to suffise the hungrie mawes of two that are ambitious: each will winne the horse or lose the saddle; haue all, or lose all: for Loue and Lordship brooke no fellowship. It is therefore great imprudence in him that admits of an equall, where himselfe may be sole commander, or at least chiefe vmpire.

Am.Plu.Art. *Encores qu'vn grand Empire soit vn bien gros morseau, si ne peut il souffire à deux.*

Ouid. *Non benè cum sociis Regna Venusq; manent.*

Tac.an.1.f.6. *Eam conditionem esse imperandi, vt non aliter ratio constet quàm si vni reddatur.*

Vnum

Vnum esse reip. corpus, atque vnius animo regendum. Tacit. an. l. 1.
Duo aut premunt remp. aut distrahunt. Id. l. 1. fol. 5.
——Partiri non potes orbem, Lucan. l. 1.
Solus habere potes.——
Non bonum est multorum imperium, rex vnicus esto. Homer Il.

The French King grants the moyety of the kingdome of *Naples* to fall to the Spaniards share, and admits of a Riuall in *Italy* where before himselfe was sole arbiter: to whom all his open enemies, and discontented friends, might haue recourse, and who was lincked in parentade, and strict interest, with the Romane Emperor; whom of all other Princes in the world, the French had most reason to suspect: Whereas *Frederick* then King of *Naples* made humble sute vnto him by all possible meanes, to hold that realme of him in fee, with recognition of fealty, and paiment of yearely tribute. A fault which his predecessor *Charles* 8. auoyded: who was willing to giue one of those former kings, faire Estates and Honours in the realme of *France*, but would neuer yeeld to allow him any one foote in the kingdome of *Naples*: but here one is admitted for a partner, who shortly after shoulders out his companion.

APHORISME XV.

IN [1] the Tribunall, where mens actions are brought to triall, the eare is but a promoter, the eye is both witnesse and iudge. For, if what we onely heare by report do enforme vs, and not what we see in effect and by proofe, there must needes be error in that iudgement: [2] Because morall honesty like Christian piety, consists not in verball profession and protestation, but in actuall practise, voide of all corruption, and spotlesse. Hee therefore that will not be deceiued by State-hypocrites, who make honesty and religion the cloake of their ambition, must not listen after their words, but looke into their actions: least his eares that tickle with such pleasing report, do afterwards tingle with the smart of the blow.

Herod.Clio. 1 Ὦτα ὀφθαλμῶν ἀπιστότερα. *i. Aures magis incredulæ, quàm oculi.*
Ruffin. *De fide cuiuſque, magis oculis quàm auribus credendum.*
Adag. *Plus valet oculatus teſtis quàm auriti decem.*
Hor.de art. poet. *Segniùs irritant animos demiſſa per aurem*
Quàm quæ ſunt oculis ſubiecta fidelibus, & quæ
Ipſe ſibi tradit ſpectator.

Lactant. 2 *Chriſtianorum omnium Religio eſt, ſine ſcelere, ſine macula viuere.*
Seneca. *Optimus animus, pulcherrimus Dei cultus eſt.*
Incer.Aut. *Troianus equus ideo fefellit, quia Mineruam mentitus eſt.*
Lip.pol.l.1. *In verbis ne nimiùm mihi pruri, ad facta abi.*

The French and Spaniſh Kings, bearing the faire titles of *moſt Chriſtian* and *Catholick*, chalenging to be the firſt ſonnes of the Church, and her chiefe champions, hauing now their ambitious thoughts wheeling about the Sphære of Chriſtendome, do at laſt con-center in this one point; *to take Naples from Frederick the preſent King, and ſhare it betweene them.* The bargaine is already made: the writings drawne: the couenants endorſed: nothing wants but the ſealing thereof, which of neceſſity muſt be with the bloud of many innocent Chriſtians imployed in that warre. To which end the Spaniſh forces are ready in *Sicilia*, and the French troopes are aduanced as farre as *Rome.* Till now, they had made a glorious proteſtation, that this army was prepared againſt the Turk, but here they plainely diſcouer themſelues: their Embaſſadors come into the Conſiſtory: intimate to the Pope and Cardinalles the league and partage made betweene their maſters: and demande their inueſtiture in that kingdome, according to the Tenor of their couenants: that they may forſooth (this being done) bend both their forces vpon the common enemy of Chriſtian religion: A thing neuer by them intended. And againe, *Ferdinand* King of *Spaine*, ſhadowes his treachery towards his kinſman *Frederick*, and his copartcinery with *Lewes* 12. vnder colour of neceſſity: pretending great danger if he did either defend or abandon him. For, to defend him, were to kindle ſuch a fire of warre, as would put all Chriſtendome in cõbuſtion, and open a way to the Turk, whoſe preparations were then very great both by ſea and by land: and to abandon him, were to put the kingdome of *Sicilia* into manifeſt hazard, lying

ſo

ſo neare; and to preiudice his owne right to *Naples*, in caſe the line maſculine of *Frederick* failed. And therefore he had taken the middle way, in hope ere long (through the miſgouernement of the French) to get the other moiety alſo: and then he proteſted ſo to diſpoſe of the whole, as ſhould be beſt for the publick good of Chriſtendome.

APHORISME XVI.

THe mother of him that feareth, ſeldome weepeth. Men muſt therefore looke before them leaſt they ſtumble, and behind them leaſt they be ouertaken; and on either ſide, to meete danger which way ſoeuer it cometh: for no man is in greater perill then he that feares it leaſt. Wherefore, vpon a parley and treaty of peace betweene the beſieged and the leaguer, neither part muſt be ſecure, but ſtand vpon like guard of diffidence, as when they were in tearmes of greateſt defiance.

Mater timidi non ſolet flere. Probus.
Citiùs venit periculum cum contemnitur. Seneca.
Vbi timetur, nihil quod timetur naſcitur. Senec. Sent.
Qui metuit calamitates, rariùs accipit. Id. Ibid.
Quæ poſſe fieri non putes, metuas tamen. Senec. Oed.
Caret periculo qui etiam cum tutus eſt cauet. Senec. Sent.
Serum eſt cauendi tempus in mediis malis. Senec. Thye.
Cauendi nulla eſt dimittenda occaſio. Senec. Sent.

Fabritio Colonna is ſtreightly beſieged in *Capua*. He deſpaires of ſuccours: comes out vpon the bulwarke, and treates ouer the walles with Count *Gaiazzo* about the capitulations of ſurrender. The ſouldiers within the towne, vpon expectation of a preſent accord, keepe a careleſſe and ſlacke guard vpon the walles. They without eſpying the aduantage, and being greedy of the ſpoile, giue a ſodaine and furious aſſault; carry the place: ſacke it: and take thoſe priſoners which remained aliue, after the fury of hot bloud was ouer.

APHO-

APHORISME XVII.

ADuersity bendeth but neuer breaketh a noble and vndaunted courage: he abandons not himselfe though all the world forsake him: but hopes that when Fortune is come to the Brumall solstice of her frowning, she will be retrograde, and shine againe vpon him with the beames of better successe. A Prince therefore plunged to the lowest deepe of desasters, must beware he sincke not to the neathermost hell of despaire, whence is no redemption: but reserue himselfe to better fortunes.

Venusi. Lir. *Viuite fortes, — Fortiaq; aduersis opponite pectora rebus.*

Tacit. an.l.4. *Erectum & fidentem animi teipsum ostende.*

Am.Plu.Cic. *Il faut ployer plus tost que rompre: & se reseruer à meilleur temps.*

Menand. Τὸν ἀληθῶς ἄνδρα εὐγενῆ, κἂν τ' ἀγαθα κἂν τὰ καλὰ δεῖ πλαίοντα γενναίως φέρειν. *Decet virum verè generosum ferre tum bona tum mala, si lapsus fuerit.*

Plaut. Stych *Vir est sapientissimus, qui tum quom res secundæ sunt, se poterit noscere, & qui æquo animo patietur, sibi esse peius quàm fuit.*

Plaut.Rud. *Animus æquus, optimum est ærumnarum condimentum.*

Lucan. l. 4. *Virtutis iam sola fides, quam turbine nullo*
Excutiet Fortuna tibi. —

Am.in Tacit lib. 10. *Per vno de megliori consigli che si possa dar à Prencipe, ô à Priuato, stimo io che sia, l'accomodarsi l'animo à qualunq; accidente, ô prospero ô desauuenturato che possa auuenirgli.*

Lucan.l.8. *— Fisus cuncta sibi cessura pericula Cæsar.*

Senec. Oed. *Virtusq; nostra nescit ignauos metus.*

Virg. Æn.3. *Fata viam inuenient, aderitq; vocatus Apollo.*

Sen. Med. *Fortuna opes auferre non animum potest.*

Lucan 4. *Maiestas non fracta malis.*

Frederick King of *Naples* is dispossessed of all he held in the realme, by the Victors. He resolues in hate of the Spaniard, to flee into the armes of the French Kings mercy, and end the remainder of his daies in *France*, as desperate of all hope euer to recouer. He desires safe-conduct: obtaines it: and sailes thither. The King giues him the Duchie of *Anioù*: and thirty thousand Duckats of yearely reuenew for his maintenance. *Prospero Colonna*, his trusty friend and souldier, had euer aduised and importuned him to the contrary: dissuading this course as vnfortunate and

and desperate. Whose counsaile if he had followed, the great warres and troubles which after fell out between those two great Kings, had made him an open way (if retired into some neuter place, and reserued there for some good occasion) to the recouery of his lost kingdome.

APHORISME XVIII.

WHere Ambition is Captaine, and Profit carries the Colours, there the Troope of vices is strong: which breakes through all lets, and makes way against all opposition, of iustice, honestie, promise, oath, or what other religious obligation soeuer. And so ranke is this weede, as it ouer-growes all vertuous and wholesome plants in the garden of Simples, or hearts of sincere contracters. But so venemous withall is the poison thereof when it seizeth vpon man, as no Antidote of former iudgement, worthinesse, courage, or noble qualitie whatsoeuer, is soueraigne enough to cure it.

Hæc taliaq; sunt, quæ rectissimas etiam mentes à recto abstrahunt: & quô vtilitas vexillum suum prætulit & explicuit, eô eunt. Lip. pol. l. 4.

Vt nemo doceat scelerum & fraudis vias, regnum docebit. Sen. Thyest.

Ea fraus quæ sit in re militari, fidem frangendo, pacta non conseruando, nequaquam gloriosa. Mac. l. 3. disc

Impia sunt hæc:
- *Dulce lucrum ex mendacijs.* Eras. 438.
- *Quamuis non rectum, quod iuuat rectum puta.* Senec. sent.
- *Magistratibus, non aliter quàm Medicis aduersus pueros & ægrotos, mentiri licet.* Bod. in rep. 4

La fede vngua non deue esser rotta
O data à vn solo, ô data insieme à mille:
E così in vna selua, in vna grotta,
Lontan da le cittadi, e da le ville;
Come dinanzi a Tribunali, in frotta
Di Testimon, di Scritte, & di Postille:
Senza iurar, ô segno più espresso,
Basta vna volta che s'habbia promesso. Ariost. cant. 21.

Gonsaluo the *gran Capitano* had receiued of free gift many Castles and Seigneuries from *Frederick* king of *Naples*, to his owne

proper vſe and inheritance. His maſter now ſends him to make warre vpon him in *Calabria:* before he ſets forward, he diſpatcheth a meſſenger to *Frederick*, to renounce and redeliuer all thoſe Eſtates and Caſtles, which he held by his gift. The King wondring at his nobleneſſe of ſpirit, confirmes the former grant, and reaſſures thoſe Eſtates vpon him. *Gonſaluo* hath good ſucceſſe in thoſe Calabreſe warres: marcheth to *Taranto*: ſets downe before it. The yong Duke of *Calabria* (eldeſt ſonne to *Frederick*) is in the towne, committed to the charge of the Count of *Potinga*, who commands there in chiefe. He is forced, after a long and ſtreight ſiege, to capitulate with *Gonſaluo*, to yeeld vp the citie and fortreſſe, if within foure moneths they were not relieued: taking the oath of *Gonſaluo* vpon the Sacrament, to leaue the yong Duke at libertie to go where he liſted. The time is expired: the towne deliuered: but neither the feare of God, nor ſhame of men, could ſo much in *Gonſaluo*, as the Intereſt of State, knowing how auaileable it might be to his maſters deſſeignes, to haue the yong Prince in his power. He therefore contrary to his oath, ſends him with a ſtrong guard into *Spaine*.

APHORISME XIX.

ALL[1] *Moraliſts hold nothing profitable that is not honeſt:* [2] *Some Politicks haue inuerted this order, and peruerted the ſenſe, by tranſpoſing the tearmes in the propoſition: holding nothing honeſt that is not profitable. Howſoeuer thoſe former may ſeeme too ſtreight laced, theſe ſurely are too looſe.* [3] *For there is a middle way betweene both, which a right Stateſman muſt take.*

Cic.off.l.2. 1 *Nullum vtile eſt, quod non ſit honeſtum.*

Heſiod. Τὸ κέρδος ἡγοῦ κέρδος, ἂν δίκαιον ᾖ. *i. Lucrum id eſſe exiſtima quod iuſtum.*

Seneca. 2 *Vbicunque tantùm honeſta dominanti licent, precariò regnatur.*

Thucyd.l.6. Ἀνδρὶ τυραννῷ, ἢ πόλει ἀρχὴν ἐχούσῃ, οὐδὲν ἄλογον ὃ τι ξύμφερον. *i. Viro principi aut ciuitati imperium habenti, nihil inhoneſtum quod vtile.*

Saluſt.Iug. *Cui omnia cum pretio honeſta videntur.*

Al

Al tempo nostro si ritrouan rade,
A' cui più del guadagno, altro sia caro. Arioſt.cãt.16

Τὸ δίκαιον ἐν μόνῳ τῷ λυσιτελεῖ τιθέμενος, καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἐν τῷ συμφέροντι. *i. Honeſtum & iuſtum in commodo & vtilitate ponens.* Plut. Lacon. apop. de Lyſ.

Nil turpe dùcas pro ſalutis remedio. Senec. ſent.

Ne credas ponendum aliquid diſcriminis inter
Vnguenta & corium: Lucri bonus eſt odor ex re
Qualibet. Iuuen. Sat. 14

3 *Ciuilis virtus, diſpoſitio potiùs ad virtutem quàm virtus.* Plotin.

Virtutes ciuiles ſecundùm normam à prudentia illis impoſitam operantur. Alcy. Platon

Velimus Principem alto animo, ſed tamen eruditum vtilia honeſtis miſcere. Tacit. Agric.

Neceſſarium eſt in paruis à Iuſtitia abire, qui eam ſaluam velint in magnis. Plut. in polit

Intuta quæ indecora. Tacit. hiſt. 1.

Nunquam diſcrepet vtile à decoro. Auſon. f. 92.

Valentinois ſends *Vitellozzo* and *Iohn Baglione* to beſiege the towne of *Piombino*. *Iacob d' Appiano* Lord thereof, and in the French kings protection, leaues the towne and fortreſſe well manned, and goes into *France*. He deſires the King for his owne honour, not to abandon his poore diſtreſſed client, and ſee him periſh. The King ſhadowes his refuſall with no veile of excuſe, but anſwers him in plaine tearmes, that though indeed he ought to defend him, and interpoſe in his buſineſſe, yet he nor would nor could oppoſe againſt the Pope, without great loſſe to himſelfe. The poore *Signor* loſeth his Eſtate.

APHORISME XX.

IT is no Paradox, to be rich with little, nor to be poore with much: becauſe Content is the poore mans riches, and Deſire the rich mans pouertie, which is neuer ſatisfied. For whereas all things in nature are finite and terminable within the limits of their peculiar period; and all humors and affections of the minde are fixed vpon their proper obiects, and quietly ſetled in the center of their fruition; onely that of ambitious Couetiſe is infinite and endleſſe: For it giues as much vexation of ſoule after the purchaſe acquired, as there was at firſt trauaile in the acquiring; ſtill ſuggeſting and ſupplying new fewell to the fire of his deſire.

Curt.geſt. Alex. *Difficile eſt nos contentos eſſe eo quod offert occaſio: quippe ſordent prima quæque, cum maiora ſperantur.*

Apul.de Magia,l.1. *Omnis cupido acquirendi, ex opinione inopiæ venit: nec refert quàm magnum ſit quod tibi minus eſt.*

Por.in Guic. *Dell' hauere ottenute le coſe deſiderate, s'accreſcono ſempre i diſegni.*

Senec.ep.74 *Nemo quos vincit, ſed à quibus vincatur aſpicit: Et illis non tam iucundum eſt multos videre poſt ſe, quàm graue aliquem ante ſe.*

Iuuen. Sat.1. *Et quando vberior vitiorum copia? quando*
Maior auaritiæ patuit ſinus?

Ouid. *Creuerunt & opes, & opum furioſa cupido,*
Et cum poſſideant plurima, plura petunt.

Boeth.de Con.l.1. met.2. *Si quantas rapidis flatibus incitus*
Pontus verſet arenas,
Tantas fundet opes, nec retrahat manum
Plena copia cornu,
Humanum miſeras haud ideò genus
Ceſſet flere querelas.

Lewes 12. is peacefully poſſeſſed of the Duchie of *Millan*: no one towne thereof is out of his hands, but onely *Cremona* and *Ghiaradadda*, which the Venetians hold by vertue of the late couenants made betweene them, when they both entred into the war vpon this State. The King is not yet ſatisfied: thoſe two Peeces are eye-ſores to him: he therefore treates of a peace with the Emperour, both to be eaſed of a great deale of charge and danger, as alſo to obtaine the Inueſtiture of this Duchie, but eſpecially to haue free power to offend the Venetians, and to rincorporate thoſe two faire members *Cremona* and *Ghiaradadda* into the body of this State: and then after to take from them *Bergamo*, *Crema* and *Breſcia*, all branches of the ſame tree, but lopped off, and quietly poſſeſſed by the Venetians, euer ſince the time of *Philip-Maria Viſconti*.

APHORISME XXI.

The vicißitude of things and change of times, begets new counſailes and deliberations in States, and enforceth neceſſarily the knitting or diſſoluing of Allyance betweene them. What is vſefull to day, may be hurtfull to morrow, as ſhowers that are ſeaſonable

in

in the Spring, and vnwelcome in the Harueſt. Wherefore, to temporiſe by leuelling and adapting our actions to the occaſion preſent and preſented, is requiſite policy.

Γνῶθι καιρὸν: καιρὸς ἐπὶ πάσιν ἄριστος. *Noſce opportunitatem: hæc enim rerum eſt optima.* Heſiod.

Ἁρμοπτόμενον τοῖς παροῦσι πράγμασι. *i. Præſentibus aptè ſe accommodans.* Scholi. Thu.

Μεταβολὴ πάντων. *Omnium rerum eſt viciſſitudo.* Adag.

Ἢ ἐχθρὸν ἢ φιλὸν μετὰ καιροῦ γίγνεσθαι. *Amicum vel aduerſarium fieri oportere ex temporis commoditate.* Thucyd. l 6.

Quò ſe fortuna, eò ſe fauor hominum inclinat. Iuſtin. l. 5.

Fidei ambiguæ, ac ſemper fœlicioris partes potiores habens. Di. Caſſ. 391.

Quamdiu ſpem ſubſidij in amicis ac ſocijs habent, tamdiu cum ijs amicitiam putant ſeruandam. Polyb. l. 4.

Cum fato conuerſa fides. Lucan. l. 2.

Et cum fortuna ſtat, cadit, fides. Ouid.

The Florentines had bene long in the French Kings protection: the Cardinall of *Roan* his Lieutenant gouernor in *Millan*, alledgeth the date thereof to be expired. They ſue for a prolungation; he is in hope of peace with the Emperor, and will not heare their ſuite, or at leaſt propounds ſuch conditions as are vnreaſonable. He takes into protection the Luccheſi, their enemies. He deales with the Saneſi and Piſans to ioyne together, for the reſtoring of the baniſhed *Medici*, and troubling of the State of *Florence*. He deſires to draw from theſe Allies no ſmall ſumme of mony. He makes his demands: the matter cometh to ſtipulation, and there quaileth: becauſe theſe ſmall States pleade vnhability, to pay the money demanded. Meane while the hope of peace betweene him and the Emperor growes cold, and almoſt deſperate. The Emperor himſelfe is to go in perſon to *Rome*, to be crowned. He ſends to *Florence*: demands one hundred Lances, and thirty thouſand Duckats towards his conuoy, and expenſe in that iourney: vpon which he will be engaged to vndertake their protection againſt all men. The French King fearing leaſt they ſhould condeſcend to the Emperors demands, becauſe they deſpaired of his friendſhip, enclines to more reaſonable conditions then at firſt he offered, and takes them a-new into his protection.

APHORISME XXII.

AS in things we haue, ſo in thoſe we do, each hath his proper tryall, to prooue the excellencie thereof in his kinde: Gold by the teſt, the Diamant by his hardneſſe, Pearle by his water: So, the beſt diſcouerers of mens minds are their actions: the beſt directer of actions is counſaile: and the beſt triall of counſailes, is Experience.

Ter. Adelph. *Nunquam ita quiſquam benè ſubducta ratione ad vitam fuit,*
Quin res, ætas, vſus, ſemper aliquid apportet noui,
Aliquid moneat, vt illa quæ te ſcire credas, neſcias,
Et quæ tibi putaras prima, in experiundo repudies.

Am. in Tacit. *Il più vero ammaeſtramento, è quello che ſi prende dall' eſperienza,*

Cicero. *Experientia omnium magiſtrorum præcepta ſuperat.*

Saluſt. Iug. *Optima inſtitutio experientia.*

Polyb. l. 1. *Experientia facit vt vita noſtra ſecundùm artes progrediatur, imperitia ſecundùm fortunam.*

Plato. Gor. *Inſtructiores ad operandum, qui periculis & rerum experientia quàm qui artis ſolùm præceptis edocti ſunt.*

Ouid. art. l. 1. *Scit benè venator ceruis vbi retia tendat,*
Scit benè qua frendens valle moretur aper:
Aucupibus noti frutices, &c.

Plut. in Lac. Apop. *Eudamidus audito philoſopho qui diſſeruerat (ſolum ſapientem eſſe bonum belli ducem) ſermo inquit mirificus eſt, at qui eum dicit fide caret, eò quòd illum nunquam circumſonuit tuba. Probauit ſententiam, ſed indicauit neminem cum fide loqui de re, quam nullo modo ſit expertus.*

A confederation is concluded betweene the French King and the Florentines. They may now boldly renew their warre vpon *Piſa*: wherein they had for a time ſurceaſed, for feare of diſpleaſing this King, or ſtirring other Princes of *Italy* againſt them. The queſtion is now debated in Councell, how to make this warre. Some yeares before vpon the firſt ouuerture of the Piſan rebellion, a graue Councellor of State had aduiſed them, rather to reduce the rebelles to obedience, by length of time, cutting off all meanes of ſuccour or reliefe, and extremity of want, then by aſſault and expugnation: Becauſe, though it were a longer, yet

it

it was a ſurer way, of more hope, and leſſe danger or charge. And that in theſe generall troubles and garboiles of *Italy*, by keeping their money in the treaſury, they might worke their owne ends vpon all occaſions: By ſeeking to force them, they ſhould finde the enterpriſe very difficult, vpon a city ſo ſtrongly fortified, and full of obſtinate defendants: and when it were brought to the laſt puſh, al the neighbour States that were loath it ſhould be loſt, would giue them aſſiſtance. This graue and prudent aduice was then refuſed, and the contrary embraced. But now at length that with many yeares experience, great ſummes exhauſted, and their buſineſſe no whit aduanced, they had found it the beſt way, they reſolue to follow it: and accordingly ſend all their troopes to waſt and ſpoile all the corne and graine in the Piſan territory: with expreſſe charge to proceede no further.

APHORISME XXIII.

AS in a particular Purchaſe, ſo in partage of a Kingdome, each boundary and butting muſt preciſely be ſet downe: And the names of places muſt be taken according to the lateſt and moſt vulgar acception: but yet, with an aliâs dictus, *and relation of their ancient appellation, to auoide all cauſes of litigious quarrell, either by the law, or the ſword. For ſuch is the wilfulneſſe of couetous purchaſers and ambitious Princes, as theſe limites are ſeldome ſo perfectly butted out, but that they yeeld matter of difference and occaſion of warres to ſuch as theſe, diſpoſed euer to quarrell.*

Nelle differenze de' nomi, & de' confini delle Prouincie, s' attende ſempre all' eſſo preſente. Guicciard.

Doue s' accompagnano più Prencipi che pretendono d' eſſer pari, naſcono facilmente tra loro ſoſpetti, & contenzioni. Por. in Guic. l. 7.

— Sic Gallica certus
Limes ab Auſonijs diſterminat arua Colonis. (ſcilicet Rubicon.) Lucan. l. 1.

Sic inter Carthaginenſes & Cyrenenſes, neq; flumen neq; mons erat qui fines eorũ diſcerneret: quæ res eos in magno diuturnoq; bello inter ſe habuit: tandẽ ſponſionem faciunt vtì certo die legati domo profecti, quo in loco inter ſe obuij fuiſſent, is communis Saluſt. Iug.

munis vtriusq; populi finis haberetur. Ibique ex pacto Philæni fratres viui obruti, quo fines constituti.

Bod.fol.607 Lucan. l. 5.

Neque enim dubium quin extrema dissideant, nisi media coniungantur.

—Iam voce doloris
Vtendum est, non ex æquo diuisimus orbem.

The Spaniard and the French haue shared the whole kingdome of *Naples* betweene them, according to the articles agreed vpon. They are not in possession one whole yeare, before they grow in difference for the *Capitanato*, a Prouince of that realme. The French will haue it no part of *Puglia*: the Spaniard will not yeeld it a part of *Abbruzzo*. In the articles of their agreement the confines and limits of each seuerall Prouince were not so distinctly set downe, as had bene requisite, for the clearing of all doubts, and preuention of all future differences betweene those great Princes. It made the matter also more litigious, because it is one of the fruitfullest Prouinces of that kingdome, and fullest of cattell: vpon which, the Prince raiseth yearely a great reuenew. They diuide the *Entrade* by equall portions betweene them, till they haue farther order from their Kinges. Meane while, another controuersie no lesse then the former, ariseth about the ancient and moderne appellation of the Prouinces: the Spaniard affirmes, that the *Principato* and *Basilicata*, with the valley of *Beneuentum* (which the French held) were part of *Calabria*: and therefore send their officers to *Tripalda*, to keepe their Courts there, being a place not two miles distant from *Auelli*, where the French officers did reside: the French maintaine the contrary: the matter proceedeth to farther tearmes of quarrell betweene them: *Nemours* the Viceroy, and *Gonsaluo* the Deputie, meete to treate vpon the difference: they disagree, and depart. *Nemours* within few daies after denounceth warre vpon them, in case they quit not their pretended claime, and sendeth his forces to *Tripalda*, to expulse the Spaniard. From which daies incursion, the war betweene those two great Princes tooke the beginning.

APHORISME XXIIII.

VPon[1] *certaine notice of ſome treaſonable plot or practiſe in a towne, the Gouernour muſt firſt aſſure the place, and then more fully ſearch into the treaſon, and puniſh the traitors: either all, for the offence; or the ring-leaders for example. Seueritie in this caſe is but Iuſtice: Lenitie puts all in hazard.*[2] *Wherefore againſt ſuch inteſtine ambuſh, we muſt firſt take vp the buckler of ſafetie, and then draw out the ſword of iuſticè.*

1 *Securitati conſulas antequam vindictæ.* Tacit.an.l.11

Diſcordiæ retraxêre Ducem, deſtinationis certum, ne noua moliretur niſi prioribus firmatis. Tacit.an.12.

Adhibito temporis ſpacio in conſilium, quod minimè locum parabit pœnitentiæ, ad puniendum nos conferrè oportet. Plut. de his qui ſerò pun

2 *Nè Gouerni, il premio è vtile, ma la pena è neceſſaria.* Rag.Stat.l.9

Cotys, increpanti ſeueritatem eius, & furorem non regnum appellanti: At meus (inquit) hic furor ſubditos ſanos reddit. Apop.Eraſ.

Perfugæ Romani miſsi, virgis in comitio cæſi, & de ſaxo deiecti. Bodi.è Liui.

In Veliternos, veteres ciues, grauiter ſæuitum eſt, quòd toties rebellaſſent: Muri deiecti, Senatus abductus. Liu.l.8.

At paucos quibus hæc rabies authoribus arſit,
Non Cæſar ſed pœna tenet. Lucan.l.5.

Vincite ferro, verberum vis extrahat ſecreta mentis. Senec.Hipol

Dum paucis ſceleratis parcis, Bonos omnes is perditum. Saluſt.

Les Princes & Magiſtrats, qui affectent la gloire d'eſtre miſericordieux, verſent ſur leur teſte la peine que les coulpables ont merité. Bod.rep.l.4.

Adijciendos ex duce metus, ſublatis ſeditionis authoribus. Tacit.an.1.

Paucis interfectis, in reliquos data venia. Idem.an.12.

Autores ſeditionis ad ſupplicium poſtulabat. Tacit. hiſt.1.

Decem præcipui authores. Thucyd.3.

Decimatio Galbæ. Tacit.hiſt.1.

Principibus ſeditionis ſecuri percuſsis. Mac.l.3.c.26

Pazzi the Florentine Commiſſary in *Arezzo* hath certaine intelligence, that diuers principall citizens had ſecretly conſpired with *Vitellozzo* to betray the towne. He will not beleeue that the hearts of ſo many could be poiſoned with ſo peſtilent a venome of treaſon. He perſwades himſelfe that the authoritie of

the name Publick, would ſupply his want of greater forces; and therefore without better ſtrengthening of himſelfe, or prouiding for ſuppreſſion of the reſt of the conſpirators, he onely arreſted and committed two of them. The people are in tumult through the inſtigation of the other complices, and generall hate they beare the Florentines. They riſe in armes: reſcue the priſoners: impriſon *Pazzi* himſelfe, with the other officers: ſend preſently for *Vitellozzo*, and ſtand out in manifeſt rebellion.

APHORISME XXV.

MVch[1] *hurt hath often bene done by ſmall contemptible creatures: a great towne in Spaine vndermined by Conies; another in Theſſaly by Moles: in Affricke the people were forced to quit their countrey by Locuſts: out of Giaros they were driuen by Rats.*[2] *Like hurt doth the contemptible multitude in a State meerly Popular, vpon any caſe that comes into deliberation: becauſe there is a diſparitie of prudence in their vnderſtandings, and yet a paritie of power in their voices, by which all great affaires are carried and reſolued.*

Plin.l.8.c.29 1 *A Cuniculis ſuffoſſum in Hiſpania oppidum: à Talpis in Theſſalia, &c.*

Plin.pan. 2 *In publicis Conſilijs nil tam inæquale, quàm ipſa æqualitas: Nam cum ſit impar omnium prudentia, par omnium ius eſt.*

Demoſt.oly. *Tam mutabile eſt vulgi ingenium, vt quid conſtanter velit aut nolit, haud facilè intelligi poteſt.*

Virg.eÆn.2. *Scinditur incertum ſtudia in contraria vulgus.*

Terent. *Ait quis, aio: Negat, nego. (Vt Paraſitus apud Poetam, ſic vulgus.)*

Lip.an.l.3. *Hoc locum non habet in Principe, qui potens eſt rerum, & ad ſuam ſententiam omnes trahit.*

Tacit.an.1. *Tarda ſunt quæ in commune expoſtulantur.*

Auſon.fol.92 *Æqualitas ordinem neſcit pati.*

Thucyd.l.1. *Quum in ſuffragijs dandis omnes ſint æquales, ſuo quiſque commodo vacant, commune bonum ab omnibus perdi.*

Xen.Athen. reſp. Ἐν τῷ δήμῳ ἀμαθία, ἀταξία, πονηρία. *i. In populo ignorantia, confuſio, malitia.*

It is debated in the Councell at *Florence*, how to aſſure the Cittadell of *Arezzo*, and to recouer the towne from *Vitellozzo* and

and the reſt of the conſpirators. The wiſer and better ſort are of opinion, that nothing is more neceſſary in this caſe then ſpeed: that *Vitellozzo*, *Baglione*, *Medici*, *Petrucci*, *Orſini*, and the reſt of that practiſe, could not ſodainly draw their troupes thither; becauſe the Mine of the conſpiracie tooke fire, and was diſcouered ſooner by many daies then they expected, or their prouiſions were ready for the enterpriſe deſſeigned: it was therefore moſt expedient for the State, preſently to ſend thither their army which lay encamped before *Vicopiſano*: for, ſo ſhould the fruite of the enemies plot wither before it were ripe, and themſelues faile of their expectation. But they of the popular ſort, who then bore chiefe office and ſway in the Councell, and were the greater number by farre, vncapable of any ſound reaſon, and vntractable to any good motion, affirme the cauſe of *Arezzo* to be ſo ſleight, and the recouery ſo faiſible, as the Peſants neare about that towne were ſufficient to regaine it: And that thoſe other Counſellors had giuen that their aduice, out of a diſlike they had of the preſent forme of gouernment, and becauſe they would ſtill haue *Piſa* hold out in rebellion. Theſe men ouer-rule the buſineſſe: no forces are ſent, nor order taken for the recouery. The Cittadell is likewiſe loſt: ſo is *Cortona*, *Caſtiglione*, *San Souino*, and all other their townes and caſtles in the valley of *Chiana*.

APHORISME XXVI.

IT [1] was one of his policies, out of whoſe Actions ſprang many of the Florentines Axiomes, To giue moſt aſſurance of his faith and friendſhip to that man, whom he firſt meant to deceiue and deſpoile of his State. [2] He therefore that vpon ſuch truſt diſarmes himſelfe, and puts the ſword into the others hand, is guiltie through his fooliſh credulitie, of his owne proper ruine. For ſuch actions as theſe, are plaine perfidie in the one, and meere madneſſe in the other.

1 *Per maximam amicitiam, maxima fallendi copia.* Saluſt. Iug.

Tacit.an.1. *Pompeius imagine pacis, Lepidus ſpecie amicitiæ deceptus.*
Lip.pol.l.5. 2 *Pax viro Principi intolerabilis, quæ labem ei aut ignominiam affert.*
Cic.Philip. *Pax ea ſit, non pactio ſeruitutis. Pace ſuſpecta tutius bellum.*
Sen.Theb. *In ſeruitutem cadere de regno, graue eſt.*
Sen. de Tran *Quandoque horæ momentum eſt inter ſolium & aliena genua.*
Senec.Sent. *Ita habeas amicum, poſſe vt fieri inimicum putes.*
Tacit.hiſt.3 *Pacem & conditiones abnuebant, diſcrimen ac dedecus oſtentantes, & fidem in libidine victoris.*
Senec.Sent. *Habe amicum, quaſi inimicum potentiâ.*

Valentinois marcheth with his army from *Rome*: he pretends the expugnation of *Camerino*; whither he had ſent the Duke *Grauina* and *Liuerotto da Fermo* before, to rauage & ſpoile the contry therabout. But indeed he deſſeignes by ſome treacherous ſtratageme to ſurpriſe the Dukedome of *Vrbine*. He is come to the cõfines of *Perugia*: he demands of *Guidobaldo* the preſent Duke, certaine peces of Cannon & troupes of men for this pretended ſiege of *Camerino*. The Duke grants his demaund, in an aſſured confidence of his friendſhip and truth, becauſe he had lately compounded all differences with him and the Pope his father, and therfore ſaw now no cauſe of ſuſpition or apprehenſion of feare. *Valentinois* had no ſooner diſarmed the credulous Duke, but he leadeth all his army with a long and ſharp march, (ſcarce allowing them time to feede) and neuer ſtaies till he come to *Cagli* a town of the Duchy. He ſets downe before it, takes it, and in ſhort ſpace after, all the reſt of that State, except onely the two forts of *S. Leo* and *Maiuolo*. The poore Duke, with his nephew the Prouoſt of *Rome*, are forced to flee the country in peſants attire. Again: after *Valentinois* had effected this exploit, he ſets vpon *Camerino*: makes *Iulio da Varano* Lord thereof beleeue, that he will yeeld to ſome good compoſition with him. *Varano* comes to him to treat of the accord. During the treaty, he is treacherouſly intrapped with his two ſons, and the towne ſurpriſed. This done, he inſtantly ſtrangleth the father and the children. *Vitellozzo*, *Petrucci*, and the *Orſini*, his old ſouldiers and faithfull followers, are amazed and affrighted at the action, and abhorre the actor. Their Eſtates likewiſe border neare vpon his, and therefore fearing like meaſure, they fall from his ſeruice, and combine againſt him.

APHO-

APHORISME XXVII.

THe[1] *neighbourhood to danger is dangerous: And therefore men muſt ſeeke to quench the fire in the next howſe, though it be their enemies, leaſt it come to their owne.*[2] *But ſuch generall deſires are often thwarted and made fruſtrate; becauſe the ends of thoſe few from whoſe meanes and authority ſuch actions muſt haue their life and performance, are commonly contrary to the willes of thoſe many that make the motion.*

1 *Aliquid mali propter vicinum malum.* Plaut.

Decebat vos præcipuè qui finitimi eſtis, quique ſecundùm nos periclitabimini, iſta proſpicere. Thucyd. l. 6.

Si neglexiſſemus vos, ipſi periculum adiremus. Idem. fol. 160

At illi qui ſtatum paucorum agitabant, poſteaquam vulgo rem communicauerant, rurſus & ſibijpſis & pleriſq; ſodalium proſpiciebant. Thucyd. l. 8.

Propriæ quoque cauſæ ſtimulabant. Tacit. An. 2.

2 *Rare volte ſuccede quel che è deſiderato da molti: perche dependendo communemente gl' effetti dell' azioni humane dalla volontà di pochi, & eſſendo l'intentione & i fini di queſti, quaſi ſempre diuerſi dall' intentione & i fini di molti: poſſono difficilmente le coſe ſuccedere altrimente, che ſecondo l'intentione di coloro chi danno loro il moto.* Guicciard.

The feate done vpon *Vrbine* and *Camerino*, and the murther executed vpon *Varano* and his Sonnes by *Valentinois*, make other neighbour Princes and States of *Italy* to looke better about them. *Vitellozzo*, *Petrucci*, and the *Orſini*, ſend the Cardinall *Orſini* to the French King, then at *Aſti*, to complaine of his ambition, treachery, and cruelty. The Florentines, and many other States and Princes, come either in perſon, or by their Agents, to make like complaint to his Maieſtie, & ſue for redreſſe. The King is much incenſed againſt *Valentinois*: vowes a iourney in perſon, to tame the pride of ſuch monſters in nature as was he, and the Pope his father: proteſts, the ſeruice to be as holy and meritorious, as if it were againſt the Turk himſelfe. But this heate of the Kings zeale is quickly cooled. For the Cardinall of *Roan*, deſirous to aduance ſome of his creatures to church dignities, & thinking

it a ſtep to the papacy whereto he aſpired, and a great honour to be accounted protector of the ſea of *Rome*, by all poſſible means labours the King to the contrary. Beſides the King feares the Popes ioyning with the Emperor againſt his coming into *Italy*. He ſuſpects the Venetians will combine with them both: and laſtly, he hath not yet ended his difference with the Swiſſe, about his pretenſion to *Belinſone*: nor hopes of any good meaſure from the King of Spaine, with whom he is now entred into open warre, about the parting of *Naples*. In all which conſiderations, he forgets his former vow, and promiſe made to the Plaintiffes: accepts of the meſſage ſent him from the Pope by *Troccies*: and receiues *Valentinois* coming vnto him, with all demonſtration of honour and fauour.

APHORISME XXVIII.

ENter into no warre but that which is iuſt. No warre can be iuſt, vnleſſe it be for the ſauing of thy honour or eſtate. Wherefore when two Princes are in armes, and neither of theſe two Iewels in any danger of preiudice, engage thy ſelfe with neither: for in this caſe, it is better to be a looker on, then to be an abettor.

Alex. Dario apud Curt.
Repello bellum non infero.

Cic. rep. l. 3. Lip. pol. l. 5.
Nullum bellum à ciuitate optima ſuſcipitur, niſi aut pro fide, aut pro ſalute.
Maneas in defenſione, nec hoc prætextu pedem manumve moueas, vt aliena apprehendas.

Dion. Caſſi.
Tutum eſt, medium inter duos, expectare belli euentum.

Lucan. l. 3.
Pugnaces dubium Parthi tenuêre fauorem
Contenti feciſſe duos. —

Tacit. An. 1.
Mente ambigua, fortunam ſeditionis alienæ ſpeculabantur.

The diffidence and iealouſie which the *Orſini* and their adherents had of *Valentinois*, doth now breake out to an open warre. Theſe men enter into a confederation-defenſiue, for them ſelues and the Duke of *Vrbine*, againſt *Valentinois* onely. And fearing to offend the French King by this league, they offer him to be bound

bound to ſerue him in perſon with all their forces, in any of his warres, whenſoeuer he ſhall pleaſe to employ them. They ſeeke alſo by all meanes the fauour and conſent of the Venetians. To the State of *Florence* they offer the recouery of *Piſa*, in caſe ſhe will declare for them, and enter into this combination. The French hath not yet conſented: the Venetians will giue no anſwer, till they ſee which way the French enclineth. But the Florentines, holding both the one ſide and the other for their capitall enemies, vtterly refuſe to be compriſed.

APHORISME XXIX.

IN an ancient Inheritance and well ſetled State, fortreſſes are onely needfull vpon the Frontiers, and againſt the bordering enemy: But in the bowels of a country they are vſeleſſe, and in ſome caſes preiudiciall and dangerous. If therefore a Prince be forced to abandon his State, and giue way to neceſsity, and will euer hope to returne when the times are more propitious; let him raze all theſe in-land forts before his departure: He ſhall finde his returne and reſtitution more eaſie.

In ſinibus aut contra hoſtem, haud valdè arces ſpernem, in mediterreis & contra ciuem, valdè. — Lip. pol. l 4.

Sanè arces non tam firmæ compedes quàm cenſentur: ad exiguum motum validæ, fragiles ad magnum. — Id. Ibid.

Arces extruuntur duplici de cauſa: ad hoſtes arcendos, ad ſubditos compeſcendos, & in officio continendos: ad priorem vſum non neceſſariæ, ad poſteriorem inutiles & noxiæ. — Mac. l. 2. dif. 24.

Arces & propugnacula ciuem ignauum efficiunt: O muliebres latebras (exclamat Cleomenes) de oppido arte & natura munitiſsimo. — Bod. rep. 5.

Inde Lycurgum Lacedæmonijs arces & propugnacula ademiſſe. — Ibid.

Solummodo prodeſſe queunt arces aliquæ in finibus imperij, locis præſertim maritimis poſitæ, ad ſuſtinendos hoſtes per dies aliquot, donec exercitus inſtruantur. — Mac. l. 2. dif. 24.

The Duke of *Vrbine* had bene driuen out of his State by *Valentinois*, and was fled to *Venice*: during his abſence the fortreſſe of *S. Leo*, a peece of great importance, and which held longeſt for him,

him, returnes now againe to his obedience. Vpon the firſt intimation of this good newes, he returnes home by ſea, and quickly recouers the whole Duchie, ſome few caſtles excepted. Meane while *Valentinois* accordeth with the *Orſini*, and their colleagues: and ſends them with all their troopes to attempt *Vrbine* the ſecond time, in aſſurance of good ſucceſſe, and ſpeedy preuailing, by reaſon of thoſe caſtles within the Duchie which ſtill held good for him. The diſtreſſed Duke is diſtracted betweene hope and feare, vnreſolued whether to affie in the confident proteſtations of his ſubiects, who offred to liue and die in his ſeruice, or to auoid the tempeſt of ſo dangerous a warre. At laſt the feare of danger ouercomes his hope of aſſiſtance, and forces him flee the ſecond time to *Venice*. But before his departure, hauing learned by experience, the danger of theſe inland fortreſſes, he razeth them all that were in that State, ſaue onely *S. Leo.* and *Maiuolo.*

APHORISME XXX.

THere is no ſecurity againſt a reconciled enemy, and one of notorious perfidy; but diffidence, and holding him out at the ſwords point. For if thy credulitie bring thee within diſtance of his reach, and that he ſee thy life lie open without good guarde, his malice and reuenge ſtraight take the aduantage, and play their parts: making the Act tragicall, and the Scæne bloudy.

Ho. Ody. B. *Pulchra loquentes, ijdem in pectore praua ſtruebant.*

Auguſt. *Nocendi cupiditas, implacatus & implacabilis animus, feritas bellandi, libido dominandi: hæc ſunt quæ iure culpantur in bello.*

Sen. Sent. *Cum inimico nemo in gratiam tutò redit.*

Mur. in Tac. *Qui iniuriâ læſus ſit, interdum ignoſcere: qui iniuriâ læſerit, nunquam.*

Tac. Agric. *Optimum in præſentia ſtatuit, reponere odium.*

Id. An. 15. *Deſtinatio vindictæ ſi facultas oriretur.*

Tac. hiſt. l. 3. *Simultates Mutianus callidè, eoq; implacabiliùs nutriebat.*

Am. Plut. Gr *Il n'y a foy ny loyauté en des cœurs deſireux de vengeance.*

Id. Demet. *Quand l'Ambition ſeule gouuerne les hommes, on remarque encores quelque courtoiſie en leur folie: Mais, ſi l'Auarice & la vengeance s'y meſlent, leur tragedies ſont ſanglantes & du tout furieuſes.*

Valentinois

Valentinois findes the way ſtopped to his ambitious deſſeignes, vnleſſe he can vnknit the knot of the late combination againſt him. To worke which his purpoſe, he holds it fitteſt to deale with one of them apart; & of theſe, him that he thought the weakeſt in iudgement to diſcouer his falſhood, and the ſtrongeſt in power to draw the reſt. Such a one he held *Paul Orſini*. Him therefore he calls to *Imola*, vnder ſafe-conduct, and ſends the Cardinall *Borgia* in pledge for him. With him he vſeth many faire and flattering inſinuations. He complaineth to him, not ſo much becauſe he and his fellowes (who had faithfully ſerued him a long time) did now vpon vaine ſurmiſes and ſuſpitions forſake him; as of his owne ignorance, that had not knowne how to carry himſelfe towards ſo many and ſo braue ſouldiers, nor how to preuent ſuch future iealouſies and miſconſtructions. He hopes that this diffidence growne in them without iuſt cauſe giuen on his part, ſhould beget betweene them and him a perpetuall and indiſſoluble coniunction: he proteſteth, that hauing now better opened the eies of his vnderſtanding by this experience, he muſt and doth ingenuouſly acknowledge, that by their good direction and valour alone he was come to the great fortune and reputation which he now hath: and therefore is moſt deſirous to returne to a true friendſhip, and renew the old league and confederation betweene them: and offers for performance to giue them what caution and ſecuritie they ſhould demaund. *Paul Orſini* credits theſe his diſſembled proteſtations: deales with his kinſman the Cardinall *Orſini*, and drawes him to accept of the motion. Theſe two, with *Pandolpho Petrucci*, perſwade *Vitellozzo* and *Iohn Baglione* to yeeld to an accord. The articles concluded are theſe: A cancellation of all fore-paſſed wrongs, and an extirpation of all conceiued hatred on both ſides: a confirmation on his part, of their former entertainment; and obligation on theirs, to go as his ſouldiers to the recouery of *Vrbine*: but with this *prouiſo*, for their better ſecuritie, that they ſhould not be bound to go perſonally aboue one of them at once; nor ſhould the Cardinall be bound to make his reſidence at *Rome*.

The cauſe of *Bologna* to be referred ouer by way of tranſaction, to the free arbitration of *Valentinois*, the Cardinall *Orſini*, and *Petrucci*. The accord thus made, they preſently recouer him all the Duchie of *Vrbine*, with the towne and prouince of *Camerino*. They encampe before *Sinigaglia*: they take both the towne and caſtle. While they are thus warring for the aduancement of *Valentinois* his affaires, himſelfe is as buſie plotting their deſtruction. He diſlodgeth from *Imola* to *Ceſena*: thence to *Fano*: from hence he ſends word to *Vitellozzo* and the *Orſini*, that the next day he would come with his owne troupes, and lodge in *Sinigaglia*: and therefore wils them that they draw their companies out of the towne, and diſpoſe them in the ſuburbs and villages thereabouts. His pleaſure is fulfilled: their foote are billetted in the ſuburbs: their horſe are quartered in other places not farre off. Next day *Valentinois* cometh: he is met vpon the way by *Paul Orſini*, the Duke of *Grauina*, *Vitellozzo*, and *Liuerotto da Fermo*. He receiues them with great ſemblance of loue and fauour. They attend him to the gates of the citie, where they finde all his troupes at a ſtand, in ſtrong array, and greater number then they expected. Their hearts begin to miſdoubt, and to prompt them that they are betrayed, yet they put on the beſt countenance, offer to take leaue, and returne to their troupes. He pretends farther cauſe of neceſſary conference with them, and drawes them (being now too late to refuſe) into the towne. Here he cauſed them to be ſeized on, & ſent out his troupes preſently to deffeat and rifle their companies. Next day he ſtrangleth *Vitellozzo*, and *Liuerotto da Fermo*. Like diſpatch he made within few daies after of *Paul Orſini*, and the Duke of *Grauina*.

APHORISME XXXI.

SEldome [1] *ſhall we ſee ſuch a father as Alexander, without ſuch a ſonne as Valentinois: nor ſuch a ſonne but of ſuch a father. For the plant is knowne by the fruite: and as is the egge, ſo is the bird that hatcheth it:* [2] *Yet as in Phyſicke, wholeſome vſe is made of poiſon*

poiſon and venemous things; ſo in policie men may learne by the villanous and bloudie carriage of ſuch mens actions, how to manage a iuſt and lawfull cauſe in doing execution vpon rebels and traitors: Namely, to do nothing to the halfes: but when the ſword of iuſtice is drawne, to throw the ſcabberd into the fire.

1 *Alexander le Pape ne faiſoit rien de ce qu'il diſoit: ſon filz ne diſoit rien de ce qu'il faiſoit.* — Bod. rep. l. 5.

Κακῶ κόρακος κακὸν ὠὸν. *Mali corui malum ouum.* — Eraſ. Adag.

Crudelis pater magis, an puer improbus ille?
Improbus ille puer, crudelis tu quoque pater. — Allusio è Poeta.

Ex peſsimo genere ne catulum quidem habendum. — Cuſp. de Max

Domitij vox fuit, negantis quicquam ex ſe & Agrippina niſi deteſtabile & malo publico naſci potuiſſe. — Sueto. Nero

2 *Immò nec in iudicium quoſdam Proditores adducere oportet, ſi neceſsitas ita poſtulat: ſed hoſtium loco illicò punire.* — Dion. l. 52.

Tolle omnes: nam profectò parentes liberiq; eorum qui interfecti, & propinqui, & amici, in locum ſingulorum ſuccedunt: His pœnam ſi tutò poteris donabis: ſin minùs, temperabis. — Sen. de Cle.

Vindica princeps: Non tua propriè, ſed reip. hæc vindicta. — Lip. pol. l. 4.

Teſtudinis carnes aut edas, aut non edas. (n.) Si modicè edantur ventris tormina faciunt, ſi copioſè, leniunt. Sic ſupplicia, &c. — Eraſ. Adag.

A poſt is diſpatched to *Rome* from the ſonne to his father, with newes of the ſtratageme at *Sinigaglia*. The Pope keepes it ſecret: ſends for the Cardinall *Orſini* then in towne, to come to Court. He repaires to the *Vatican* vpon the firſt ſummons, in aſſurance of the late accord, and affiance in the Popes promiſe. At his coming he is arreſted, and committed priſoner to the Caſtle *S. Angelo*. The Pope meaneth to make all ſure, and to lay hands vpon all the other heads of the family *Orſini*. *Rinaldo* the Archbiſhop of *Florence*, with the Abbot of *Aluiano*, and *Iacopo Santa Croce*, are all ſodainly apprehended in their houſes, and impriſoned. The Cardinall after twenty daies durance, dies; of ſicknes, as it was giuen out, but of poiſon, as it was verily and generally beleeued. The Pope makes preſent ſeizure of all their lands.

APHORISME XXXII.

SOme aduantages in battell are perſonall: as better men and horſe, or more numbers of both. Some are reall: as more money, or better armes. Some are formall: as better diſcipline in gouerning, and better order in fight. And ſome are accidentall, as the Sunne, the winde, and the place. Now among all theſe, the two laſt (1 of better order in fight, 2 and better ground to fight on) are not the leaſt meanes of obtaining the victorie.

Lip.pol.l.4. 1 *Diſciplina eſt ſeuera conformatio militis ad robur & virtutem. Quæ quidem nunc dierum, non dicam languet apud nos, ſed obijt: Neque mala ſed nulla eſt.*

Pirrh.in Flo. *O quàm facilè erat orbis imperium occupare, aut mihi Romanis militibus, aut me rege Romanis!*

Veget.l.1. *In omni prælio non tam multitudo & virtus indocta, quàm ars & exercitium, ſolent præſtare victoriam.*

Xenoph. *Ordinatus exercitus, iucundiſsimum aſpectu amicis, moleſtiſsimum quiddam hoſtibus eſt.*

Cuſp.fol.97. *Quod de Alexandro Seuero dicitur, Parthicam expeditionem tanta diſciplina, tanta reuerentia egiſſe, vtì non milites ſed Senatores ire dicerentur.*

Veget.l.3. 2 *Ampliùs poteſt locus ſæpe quàm virtus.*

Lip.pol.l.4. *Loci ratio habenda, vtrùm inimicis an tibi videatur accommodus.*

Veget.l.3. *Si equitatu audemus, campos debemus optare: ſi peditatu, loca eligere anguſta, foſsis, paludibus, vel arboribus impedita.*

Xenophon. *Multum interest inter Ducem locorum peritum & imperitum.*

Liu.bel.Pun *Scipio pro ſe eſſe loci anguſtias ratus, & quòd in arcto pugna Romano aptior.*

Tacit.An.12 *Vi militum inferior, locorum fraude prior.*

The Count of *Meleto*, the Princes of *Salerno* and *Biſignano*, with all their forces, are encamped before *Terranoua*. *Don Vgo di Cardona* with eight hundred foote Spaniſh, one hundred horſe, and eight hundred other foote, Sicilians and Calabrians come to the ſuccours. The Count hath notice hereof: riſeth from before the towne, and goeth to encounter them. The Spaniards march through a narrow plaine, ſtrengthened with hils on the one ſide, and a riuer on the other. The French accoaſt them along the

the water which was between the armies, and being farre ſtronger then the enemy, is deſirous to draw him to fight. The Spaniard keepes on his march, in good array of battaile, and holds his aduantage of the place. *Meleto*, perceiuing he ſhould not impeach their getting into *Terranuoua*, without the hazard of a battel, paſſeth the riuer with his troopes, to giue vpon them. Where, by the good and cloſſe order of the Spaniſh foote, and the difficultie of getting vp the riuers banke, the French are defeated, put to rout with great loſſe, and the towne relieued.

APHORISME XXXIII.

EXample [1] *is of greater force then Precept.* [2] *It therefore behoueth a Generall, as well to be a good ſouldier, as an able director: that by his preſence and perſonall performance of what he commands others, they may be encouraged to endure any paines, or vndergo any danger. For vpon his actions and vertue eſpecially, depends the ſucceſſe of all the ſeruice. Whereupon the Greeke Leader truly inferred, that an army of ſheepe led by a Lyon was better then an army of Lyons led by a ſheepe.*

1 *Princeps optimus faciendo docet: cumq; ſit imperio maximus, exemplo maior eſt.* Vellei. l. 2.

Conſilia frigent, exemplis mouemur omnes. Adag.

Quando il ſignor è buono, i ſubditi anco
Fa buoni: Ch'ogni vn incita chi regge. Arioſt. agg. 2

Et eccitati al paterno eſſempio
Aguzzauano al ſangue, il ferro è'l ira. Taſſo. Ca. 9.

L'eſſempio all' opre ardite e pelegrine
Spinge i compagni. Taſſo. Ca. 18.

Non tam imperio opus, quàm exemplo. Plin. paneg.

2 *Non ſo ſe meglior Duca ô Caualiero.* Taſſo.

Ἅμ᾽ ἠπιοπεσον βασιλεὺς τ᾽ ἀγαθὸς κρατερὸς τ᾽ ἀιχμητὴς. *Simul & bonus Imperator, & ſtrenuus miles.* Homer.

Strenui militis & boni Imperatoris officia ſimul exequebatur. Sal. bel. Cat.

Plus in Duce repones, quàm in exercitu. Prob. de Epa

Vnus homo pluris, quàm vniuerſa ciuitas. Tac. de mor. Ger.

Mac.dif. l.2. *Plus confidi exiſtimo egregio Imperatori, ſi tempus habeat ad inſtruendum militem, quàm firmo ſed inſolenti exercitui, cui tumultuarius aliquis dux præficitur.*

Rag.Stat.è Plut. *E' meglio vn eſſercito di Cerui, guidato da vn Leone, che di Leoni guidati da vn Ceruo.*

Plaut. *Vbi ſummus Imperator non adeſt ad exercitum, citiùs quod facto non opus ſit, quàm quod facto eſt opus.*

Rag.ſtat.Plu Xer.in Hero. Προβάτων γὰρ οὐδὲν ὄφελος, ἂν ποιμὴν ἀπῇ. *Vſus nullus ouium, ſi Paſtor abſit.*

Debes tu qui illorum rex es, duplum præſtare quàm ſinguli eorum.

Silius l. 3. *Audebit primus ſumpſiſſe labores,*
Primus iter carpſiſſe pedem.

Lucan. l. 9. *Monſtrat tolerare labores, non iubet.*

Liu. de Val. Cor. *Facta mea non dicta milites ſequi volo: Nec diſciplinam, ſed exemplum etiam à me ſumere.*

Lucan.l.9. — *Primus arenas*
Ingrediar, primuſq; gradus in puluere ponam
Dux an miles eam. —

Lucan.l.5. — *Ignaue venire*
Te Cæſar non ire iubet. —

Polyb. de Hannib.l.9. *Interim ſeipſum exemplum præbet, cùm in conficiendis admouendiſq; ad mœnia machinis, tum in adeundis locis vbi magis imminens periculum oſtendebatur: omnia denique, non ſecus egit, quàm ſi nihil inter ſe atque militem intereſſet.*

Nemours, Vice-roy of *Naples*, with all his forces, comes downe to *Matera*, not farre from *Barletta*. He quarters his troupes in places round about, to cut off all conuoy of victuall, or ſupplie of men, that might come to the ſuccour of the Spaniard in the towne: where the ſouldier was much afflicted with want, and infected with peſtilence. In which extremity the Spaniſh patience and perſeuerance was great, through the remarqueable vertue and diligence of *Gonſaluo*: who ſometimes putting them in hope of a freſh and ſpeedy ſupplie of two thouſand Dutch foote, ſometimes of other ſuccours, and otherwhiles giuing out, that if they would haue but a little patience, he would quit the place, and retire with them ſafe by ſea to *Tarento*: but moſt of all by his owne example, in vndergoing and enduring with a cheerefull countenance, all the extremities of want and warre in his owne perſon; he wearied and wore out the Vice-royes forces, who through diſorder and miſgouernement were ſhortly forced to quit the ſiege: and he heartned and hardned his owne

ſoul-

ſouldiers, to ſtand it out to the laſt, and to become of men almoſt vanquiſhed, victorious ouer their enemies.

APHORISME XXXIIII.

NOble and generous ſpirits ſtriue as much not to be ouercome in courteſie, as the valiant and couragious not to be ouerthrowne in combat. Hence it is, that nothing more obligeth the promiſer to an vnfeyned and free performance, then the free and confident aſſurance, which the promittee profeſſeth to haue in the word and offer made him. Whereas on the contrary, many haue taught others to deceiue, while they haue appeared too fearefull and iealous of being deceiued.

Hominem homini obſequentem vltrò nihil aliud facit quàm fides, beneuolentiæ, integritatiſq́; & iuſtitiæ opinio. Plut. Reger

Qui timet amicum, amicus vt timeat docet. Senec. Sent.

Qui timet amicum, vim non nouit nominis. Idem. Ibid.

Vult ſibi quiſque credi, & habita fides ipſam plerumq; obligat fidem. Liui. l. 22.

Quorum autem mihi longo vſu cognita fides, quid eſt quod non ijs & committi & credi poſſe putem? Cic. ad frat.

Qui timidè rogat docet negare. Seneca.

Inde Auguſtus quendam timidè petentem ioco corripuit: quòd ſic ſibi libellum porrigeret quaſi Elephanto ſtipem. Sueton. fol. 126.

Multi fallere docuerunt, dum timent falli. Id. Ibid.

Qui ſe ſuſpectos ſentiunt, etſi falsò, conſpirationem ineunt. Sue. in Calig

Sic optimates Tegeatarum falſam ſuſpicionem metu coacti veram effecêre. Polyæn. l. 2.

Philip Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, heire apparant to the Roman Emperor, and kingdomes of *Spaine*, will needes take his iourney thither, from the *Low countries*, through *France*, though his Councell perſwade the contrary. He ſends to the French King for a free paſſage, and obtaines it. Diuers *Peeres of France* are ſent into *Flanders* for pledges, till *Philip* ſhould ſafely arriue on the borders of *Spaine*. At his very firſt ſetting forward he giues order, that all thoſe Noble men ſhould be ſet free, and ſent home againe; to ſhew how much he affied in the honour of the King, and

ſincere performance of his word: the King requites him with correſpondency of like aſſurance in his loue: giues order for his entertainment in all places where he ſhould paſſe, with all poſſible demonſtration of reſpect and welcome: himſelfe receiues him at *Blois*, in all magnificent and royall manner. Where after ſome few daies ſpent, part in feaſting and triumphs, and the reſt in treating and concluding other affaires of more weightie importance, he departeth the Court with much ſatisfaction, and arriueth in *Spaine*, in very good ſafety.

APHORISME XXXV.

IN[1] *profeſsions either Ciuill or Military, thoſe are more honourable which haue greater charge, or require greater knowledge. As to rule a State, is more noble then to gouerne a towne: and this, more eminent then to order a family. In which reſpect, though the true end of horſe and foote be one and the ſame, to defend a right and redreſſe a wrong, (and percaſe that of foote be generally more vſefull:)* [2] *Yet this of horſe is the more honourable ſeruice. Becauſe his vertue and knowledge is exerciſed, as well in managing and defending of his horſe as of himſelfe: vpon whoſe ſafe-gard his life and honour depends, as well as in immediate defence of his owne perſon.*

Lip.pol.l.5. 1 *Vbi bona & compoſita militia, pedes præualet: apud rudes aut barbaros contrà.*

Tacit.l.1. *Ab equite & pedite, omne bellicis negotijs profluit robur: & ſine quibus, quamuis egregia ſint illa conſilia, ſunt tamen inualida.*

Lip.l.5. *Ad pugnam equites, ad oppida propugnanda aut expugnanda aptiores ſunt pedites.*

Veget.l.2. *Montanis locis & impeditis, quaſi nullus equorum vſus: ex quo intelligitur magis neceſſarios pedites, qui poſſunt vbique prodeſſe.*

Xen.Cy.l.4 2 *Neque quiſquam ex præclaris Perſis, vſquam pedes incedere ſua quidem ſponte videbatur.*

Xen.Cy.pæd l.8. *Antea patrius mos erat, ne viderentur tum proficiſci pedites alius cuiuſquam rei gratiâ, quàm vt equites optimi efficerentur.*

Ariſt pol.l.4 *In equite apud antiquos omne robur: Quia ratio ordinandi militiam pedeſtrem illis incognita fuit.*

Ego

Ego verò ſi equitare didicero, quum in equo fuero, Hippocentauri quæ ſunt faciam: quaternis tunc oculis coniectabo, auribus quaternis præſentiſcam, &c. Xen. Cyr. l. 4

A trumpet is ſent to *Barletta*, where the Spaniſh and Italian forces lay, about the ranſome of certaine French priſoners, lately taken in the deffeat at *Rubos*. Some words paſſe from the Italian men at armes, in ſcorne and diſparagement of the French Cauallery: which the trumpet reporteth at his returne. Anſwer is made by the French, and replication returned them backe againe. The challenge paſſeth betweene them, and is accepted. The number of combattants are thirteene on a ſide: the fight on horſebacke: the liſts are appointed, midway betweene *Barletta*, *Andria*, and *Quadrato*. The Generals on both parts aſſigne diuers troupes of horſe to a certaine number, and equall diſtance from the liſts, to preuent ambuſh or any other aduantage. They encourage their champions, and commend them to their fortune. The ſignall is giuen: they charge with a noble and braue courage on both ſides, and vndeterminable oddes on either. They betake them to their ſwords, and vſe them with no leſſe proofe of emulous proweſſe: the earth is couered with ſhiuers of armour, and ſhedding of bloud, yet ſtill the victory in doubtfull ballance. *Guglielmo Albimonte* is vnhorſed by a Frenchman: who, more eager to purſue his death, then ſaue his owne life, is ſlaine by *Franceſco Salomone* an Italian. *Albimonte* thus reſcued, together with *Miale* who was likewiſe vnhorſed, draw forth their long broaches which they had brought for the purpoſe, wherewith they kill ſome, and gall moſt of the French horſes: and by this aduantage onely get the victory of their enemies. They take the reſt priſoners, and returne with all military triumph and applauſe into *Barletta*.

APHO-

APHORISME XXXVI.

HIstory[1] *is the Kalendar of time, and hath her Critick daies as well as Phyſick: whereby Conceit fore-hopeth of the good ſucceſſe of an affaire, as Art foreiudgeth of the decreaſe of a diſeaſe. For we haue it exemplified by many inſtances, that certaine daies haue bene perpetually ſuccesfull to certaine perſons or nations.*[2] *Which, howſoeuer ſome men may interprete to Fate and Neceſsitie, or others to ſome other cauſe of circumſtance or accident; yet is it the part of a wiſe Leader to make vſe thereof, and to nouriſh and cheriſh that former conceit in the common ſouldier, becauſe he ſhall thereby the better encourage him to an alacritie of ſpirit, and a hope of the victorie.*

Senec. Herc. Maiol. Col. 4

1 *Cui pariter dies & fortuna fuit.*

Carolo quinto Imperatori vigeſimam quartam diem Februarij fuiſſe euentibus omnibus memorabilem: quòd illâ ſit natus, illâ Gallorum regem deuicerit, captiuumq; fecerit: illâ quoque auguſtale diadema Bononiæ ſuſceperit.

Probus.

Timoleon Corinthius prælia maxima natali ſuo die fecit omnia.

Plut. Camil.

Sic Bœotijs in diem quintum menſis Hippodromij victorias clariſsimas duas fortuna contulit.

Mac. l. 1. c. 14

2 *Romani ſemper ſoliti erant interpretari auſpicia, ita vt ad illorum inſtitutum atque voluntatem accommodarentur.*

Liui. l. 10.

Papyrio quòd prudenter auſpiciorum ſignificationem fuiſſet interpretatus, honores decreti fuerant.

Mac l. 1. c. 14

Eò ſpectant huiuſmodi auguria omnia, vt miles ad dimicandum alacrior redderetur: ex qua alacritate, victoria vt plurimum ſequebatur.

D'Aubigny Gouernour of *Calabria*, of a noble and braue courage, and one of the worthieſt Captaines that *Charles* 8. brought into *Italy*, comes with all his forces neare *Seminara*; where ſome few yeares before he had had a famous victory againſt *Ferdinand* king of *Naples*, and *Gonſaluo* the *gran Capitano*. He lodgeth his Foot in *Gioia*, and his horſe in *Loſarno*. The Spaniſh vanguard led by *Emanuel de Benauaida*, aduanceth to the riuer ſide whereupon *Gioia* ſtandeth, and affronteth the enemy. Meane while the Battallió, led (as ſome ſay) by *Don Vgo di Cardona*, and *Antonio di Leua*; with the Reare led by *Andrada*, draw along the riuer, ſome mile and

and a halfe higher,and haſte to paſſe the water. *D'Aubigny* hauing notice hereof, riſeth ſodainly without his artillery, and goes to encounter them before their troupes were paſſed ouer. He chargeth home brauely, but with much better courage then fortune: For the Spaniards being all paſſed the riuer, and ranged in good array of battell,entertain him to his loſſe.His troupes are broken: the Duke of *Soma*,with many Barons of the kingdom,are taken: ſo is *Ambricourte*,with many French Captains.*D'Aubigny* himſelfe fleeth to the rock of *Angitola*;where he is beſieged,and forced to yeeld.This deffeat hapned on a Friday.Within eight daies after, *Gonſaluo* with his forces riſeth from *Barletta*, comes before *Cirignuola* ten miles off,which held for the French;and being likewiſe ten miles off from *Canoſa*,where *Nemours* was lodged, made as it were a triangle.The French Vice-roy, after ſome litle pauſe and deliberation,reſolues to fight: marcheth towards *Cirignuola* with all his army: comes vpon the enemy before he had fully entrenched the front of his camp, and chargeth him with excellent valour and reſolution: But with like ſucceſſe as *d'Aubigny* had done ſome few daies before. *Nemours* himſelfe is ſlaine, and the battell loſt.This ouerthrow was alſo on a Friday: A remarqueable day among the Spaniards, wherein, as appeares by hiſtory,they haue atchieued many notable victories. *But farre better cauſe haue we at this preſent, and ſo ſhall poſteritie haue after vs,to keepe Tueſday with a memorable celebration,* (—Nec nobis gratior vlla Quàm ſibi quæ Martis præſcripſit pagina nomen) *for the ſeuerall, happie, and miraculous deliueries of our dread Lord and Soueraigne that now raigneth ouer vs: and vpon this day eſpecially to be thankfull to him by whom Princes raigne, and raigneth himſelfe for euer.*

ERRATA.

Pag.3.lin.1.αὐτάρχης,lege,αὐτάρκης. p.19.l.34. Charles 6. Charles 8. p.20. l.23. clauuos,clauos. p.46.l.26.expellitur,eijcitur. p.60.l.34.gauem, grauem. p.77.l.2.ſua haberent,ſua bellum haberent. p.90.l.27.ſiue,ſine. p.113.l.5.baiaſimo,biaſimo. p.123 l.12.hoza,hora. p.160.l.25.State,States. p.198.l.31.ſimple,ſingle. p.224.l.30.militiæ, malitiæ. p.262.l.9.ni,vni. p.296.l.26.Militia,Malitia. pag.331.l.8.χόζανος,χόρακος.

A

BRIEFE INFERENCE

VPON GVICCIARDINES DIGRESSION, IN THE FOVRTH PART OF THE FIRST QVARTERNE OF HIS HISTORIE:

Forbidden the Impreſsion, and effaced out of the *Originall by the Inquiſition.*

In anſwer to a Letter from an *honourable friend.*



LONDON,
Imprinted for EDWARD BLOVNT.
1613.

A BRIEFE INFERENCE vpon GVICCIARDINES Digreſsion.

SIR, by yours of the xiiij. of Iune, you deſire to know the reaſon why the Inquiſition hath effaced that excellent Digreſſion out of the fourth booke of GVICCIARDINE: *and what in my poore opinion may be inferred thereof. Which I ſend you with this encloſed, for your priuate reading, being willing to ſatisfie the requeſt of one I reſpect ſo much, though in the diſcourſe I nothing ſatisfie either you or my ſelfe.*

VNgracious children, borne of low and meane eſtate, when their fortune or induſtrie hath aduanced them to honour, (be the meanes good or bad) they are euer aſhamed of their pedegree, and will not acknowledge the humble eſtate and condition of their forefathers. What reaſon elſe the Church of *Rome* hath to raze the memory of her Anceſtors out of hiſtorie, (the reuerend records of Antiquitie) I for my part cannot ſee. For this worthy Hiſtorian was one of her owne: a Catholicke in his profeſſion, no man more: a reporter of things he ſaw or knew, no man truer: and a creature of the Popes, employed in honourable charges. By which Peece of his, thus vniuſtly rent and diſmembred from the reſt, you may ſee our religion naked in her infancie; lapped onely in the ſwathing clothes of innocencie; cheriſhed in the warme boſome of ſecuritie, and ſupported by the ſtrong hand of Secular authoritie. See what he ſaith, and beleeue what you ſee.

GVICCIAR. *For the declaration whereof, and of many other things ſucceeding in future times, it is requiſite that mention be made, what claime the Church hath to the cities of Romagna, and others which*

ſhe hath held heretofore, or poſſeſſeth at this day: And in what manner ſhe is come to theſe earthly States and gouernments; being at firſt meerly inſtituted for ſpirituall adminiſtration: And likewiſe that it be ſet downe as a thing of neceſſary dependance, what coniunctions and alliances haue bene from time to time vpon theſe and other occaſions, between the Biſhops and Emperors of Rome.

THe neceſſitie of this Digreſſion from the maine current of the hiſtorie, aroſe vpon this occaſion. The LL^s. of *Romagna*, who held of the Church of *Rome in Capite*, had in effect for many yeares together withdrawne themſelues from their obedience vnder her dominion. For ſome of them refuſed to pay their yearly tribute, in recognition of their homage and fealtie: others paid it, but with much difficultie, and often out of time. But all of them in generall, without the Popes leaue (their liege Lord) would accept of other Princes entertainment, and put themſelues and troupes vnder their pay: *Non obſtante* that the warre in hand was againſt the Church. And likewiſe they had theſe Princes enterchangeably bound to them, to aide and defend them, though it were againſt the armes of the Church. Now therfore the Pope inſtãceth the French king to performe what he was tied to by Couenãt, ſc. *Of aſſiſting the Church to recouer her right in Romagna*: which the King willingly granteth: and ſendeth *Iuo d'Alegri* with three hundred lances, and foure thouſand Swiſſe vnder the Bailiffe of *Dijon*, to the Duke *Valentinois* the Popes ſon, for this ſeruice. The intereſt which the Church had to this State, and by what meanes it was loſt, our Author thinkes it expedient to ſet downe here at large: and therefore one chiefe branch of this Digreſſion, is nothing elſe but *An authenticall Euidence of the Churches right to Romagna: a faire Charter how ſhe holds it by a ſtrong Deed of gift, with proofes of the validitie of the Conueyance and equitie of the Tenure.* And this branch I ſuppoſe ſhe would haue ſuffered to grow ſtill and flouriſh. But then there is anotner, which ſhewes by good record, how her gouernment was at firſt *meerly ſpirituall*: which reſtriction ſhe likes not, and hath ſtretched ſo much,

much, as ſhe hath broken that *True loues knot*, which was betweene Temporall and Eccleſiaſticall Iuriſdiction. Beſides, a third branch there is, which laies open her ambitious purchaſe of greatneſſe, and the meanes how ſhe got it, which ſhe would haue all men acknowledge for iuſt, and none to looke into the vnlawfulneſſe of the vſurpation. And theſe be the two branches, for whoſe ſake, ſhe hath iniuriouſly lopt off all the three.

GVICCIAR. *The Biſhops of Rome, of whom the Apoſtle Peter was the firſt, their power being layed by Ieſus Chriſt in ſpirituall things, great in charitie, humilitie, patience, lowlineſſe of ſpirit, and miracles; were not onely without all temporall power, but were perſecuted by it: manifeſting their name in nothing more then in the perſecutions, which they and their followers endured. And thus they remained for many yeares obſcure, and as it were vnknowne. For, although (through the multitude of people that were then in Rome, and the diuerſity of the Nations, and their Religions) the proceedings of the Chriſtians were little regarded, and ſome of the Emperors perſecuted them not at all, except when it appeared their publicke actions or exerciſes could not be paſſed in ſilence; yet ſome of them, either through the crueltie of their nature, or their deuotion to their owne heatheniſh gods, perſecuted them with all extremitie, as bringers in of new Superſtition, and ouerthrowers of (their) true Religion.*

THe Biſhops of *Rome* in the primitiue time of the Church, were ſo, rather by Appellation from their meere ſpirituall function, then by Iuriſdiction from their conſiſtoriall authoritie. For what Sea, what Chapter, what Dioceſſe, what Gouernment had they? who liued alwaies in obſcuritie, & exerciſed their religion and ſeruice of the true God, onely by ſtealth, and in corners: or elſe being diſcouered, ſuffered vnder the heauie hand of perſecution. Graue, Learned, Religious, Pious men they were; the office of *S. Peter* and *S. Paule* they executed, *to inſtruct, and reprooue*: by the impoſition of hands, and thoſe other ſolemne and ſacred rites vſed by the Apoſtles, they conferred the

holy order of Priſthood on others: that with them they might co-operate in that new planted Vineyard, to the building vp of thoſe few penitent Chriſtians, (whereof the greater part were poore, and obſcure,) that came to them for comfort in matter of cõſcience, or for direction in caſe of doubt. Theſe they looſed from their ſinnes, and confirmed in the truth: Others they reproued and conuinced of their errors, and bound them from the participation of ſpirituall bleſſings, by vertue of that power which Chriſt had left them in his Church. Whereby, although they had an authoritie ſpirituall, and power of excommunication, yet a farther power of goods, limme, or life, a power of depoſing Kings, and diſpoſing kingdomes they had not: nor had *S. Peter* himſelfe, from whom they ſtriue to deriue their ſucceſſion both in place and power. Of whoſe being at *Rome*, we greatly diſpute not, for it inferreth nothing of conſequence, to that they would inſinuate. We know it was not *Peters* being at *Rome* that gaue her the Supremacie ouer all other Churches, but *Romes* greatneſſe that gaue the occaſion of that greatneſſe, which is now attributed to *Peter*. For though it be true, that he had *Superioritatem ordinis*, before the reſt of the Apoſtles, yet was he not *Superior poteſtate*, which the Popes haue ſince chalenged. And if (three hundred yeares after almoſt) when *Conſtantine* embraced, profeſſed, and maintained Chriſtian religion, the Imperiall Maieſtie had then reſided in *France*, as it did fiue hundred yeares after, and there continued ſome foureſcore yeares; or in *Germany*, where it hath bene euer ſince: we had had a Pope of *Paris*, or of *Prage*, in ſtead of this that we haue now at *Rome*. But a fatall thing it hath bene to this citie to vſurpe ouer the world: Firſt, by holding in a temporall ſubiection all the countries of her neighbour Princes: Since, by bringing into thraldome the hearts and conſciences of Chriſtians: Firſt, by intruding vpon the inheritance of men; then, by incroaching vpon the heritage of Chriſts owne purchaſe. But ſay we graunt that *Peter* were Head of the Church, yet can it neuer be proued, that ſuch a *Clemens*, ſuch a *Pius*, or *Innocentius*, whoſe abhominable actions ſhew they had

their

their names κατ' ἀντίφρασιν, are the true ſucceſſors of *Peter*. Except they can tie Truth and Pietie to a place, which is more then all their cenſing, hallowing, and exorcizing can doe. *Rome* her ſelfe is an inſtance, which from the integritie of thoſe former times is become as Petrarch deſcribes her.

Fontana di dolore, Albergo d'Ira,
Scuola d'Errori, Tempio d'Hereſia,
Già Roma, hor Babilonia, empia e ria.
Per cui tanto ſi piagne, e ſi ſoſpira.

A Source of ſorrow, Harbrough of ire,
A Schoole of errors, Temple of hereſies,
Earſt Rome, now Babylon, full of villanies,
Forcing our teares of brine, and ſighes of fire.

Succeſſion therefore of place is a ſandie ground, to build the marble materials of Truth vpon. For we ſee in this very ſection, that where Religion hath publike authoritie to maintaine it, the whole State to profeſſe it, and a long tract and continuance of time, to giue it countenance (be it neuer ſo falſe) yet power, vnitie, vniuerſalitie, and ſucceſſe, giues it the title of Truth. Such was here the ſeruice of falſe gods in the Romane Empire: And how it may now againe be applied to *Rome*, let other men iudge. But where a Religion is poore, obſcure, diſcountenanced, oppreſſed, without any to protect her, or many to profeſſe her, (be it neuer ſo ancient and true) it is wronged with the aſperſion of Noueltie and Hereſie. Such was here the ſeruice of the True God in the Church of *Rome*: And whether it be not now the Proteſtants caſe, againſt the falſe imputation which the Papiſt throwes vpon him, let the venerable Records of theſe Primitiue times be witneſſe.

GVICCIAR. *In which eſtate, famous for their voluntarie Pouertie, Integritie of life, and Martyrdome, theſe Biſhops continued till the time of Sylueſter: In whoſe daies Conſtantine the Emperor being brought to embrace the Chriſtian Religion, through the holy conuerſation which was daily obſerued in thoſe that profeſſed the name of Chriſt: The Biſhops now were freed from the danger wherein they had liued* 300. *yeares, and had libertie to exerciſe publickly the diuine Seruice, and rites*

of Christians. Whereupon Christianitie began to spread it selfe maruelously, and the pouertie of the Clergie to diminish, through the reuerence which was borne to the good behauiour of the Professors, the holie lessons which our Religion containes in it, and the readinesse that is in men to follow either through ambition (oftentimes) or through feare, the example of the Prince. For the Emperor Constantine hauing built in Rome the Church of S. Iohn in the Lateran, S. Peter in the Vatican, that of S. Paule, and many others in other places: He not onely adorned them with rich vessels and ornaments, but enfeoffed them also with possessions, and endowed them with other reuenewes for the maintenance of those Churches in their apparaments and buildings, and of the Clergie that serued in that holy Ministerie. So likewise others in times succeeding, being perswaded, by Almes and Legacies to the Church to make an easie purchase of the kingdome of heauen, did either build and endow other Churches, or gaue part of their wealth to those already built. Yea by the law and ancient custome (following the example of the old Testament) euerie man paied the Church the tenth of his fruites: Men being stirred hereunto with great zeale, because at the first they obserued the Clergie themselues, to giue all they had to the building and adorning of Churches, or to other godly and charitable vses: Saue onely what was needfull for a meane sustentation of their life.

THe two glorious Lampes, *Puritie of Doctrine* in the Christian Religion, and *Integritie of life* in the professors thereof, do now blaze and shine forth through the two thicke mists, of profane gentilisme, and corruption of manners. For, neuer was that Iustice, Vertue, and Worth of the old Romans so much adulterate and bastardized as now: Neuer such crueltie, lust, riot, and oppression in their Princes, neuer such base flatterie, false informations, and ignoble supplantations in their Senators; neuer so much vice in generall, raigning both in the Citie and State. These two therefore were the true causes of the Gospels entertainment, promulgation, and propagation. But all things haue their declination and decay, by the contraries to their life and growth. For as we obserue in naturall bodies, that natiue

heate

heate and radicall humour are the cauſes of their increaſe and continuance; but the contraries to theſe do cauſe them to decay and die: So in the bodie Eccleſiaſtick, it is no maruell, if that primitiue heate of zeale to pietie and truth be growne colde in the Church of *Rome*, and that moiſture of grace to vertue and honeſtie be quite dried vp, though ſhe fall to an vtter ruine and decay. As for her corruption of manners, her owne children out of their iuſt griefe haue expreſly tainted her with all the ſtaines of vicious life in the particular, and all the ſtraines of ambitious vſurpation in the generall. I will exemplifie both with two inſtances out of this our Author.

GVICCIAR. *Pope Alexander himſelfe could not auoide his domeſticall misfortunes, which too too much afflicted his houſe, with tragicke examples, luſt, and horrible crueltie, euen in all barbarous manner. For hauing from his firſt entrance to the Papacie, reſolued to lay all Temporall greatneſſe vpon his eldeſt ſonne the Duke of Candie; the Cardinall of Valence his yonger ſonne hauing no diſpoſition to Prieſtly function, aſpired to the profeſsion of Armes, diſdaining that his brother ſhould be preferred to that honour before him: being alſo much incenſed becauſe his brother ſhared with him in the loue of the Ladie Lucrece, courted by them both, and ſiſter to them both. Wherefore pricked on with luſt and ambition, (two powerfull miniſters of all villanie) he cauſed him ſecretly one night to be murthered, and to be throwne into Tyber. The fame went alſo, (if ſuch an enormitie be to be beleeued) that not onely the brothers, but the father alſo himſelfe concurred in the competition of the Ladies loue; who ſo ſoone as he was Pope, taking her from her firſt huſband, as being now too baſe for a Ladie of her degree, he married her to Iohn Zforza Lord of Peſaro. And after, not enduring to haue her owne husband his Corriuall, he diſſolued the mariage which before was conſummate, ſuborning ſome to teſtifie before Iudges choſen for the purpoſe, (and them to giue ſentence) that Zforza was* frigidæ naturæ, *and vnapt for generation.*

THus farre *Guicciardine* of this vertuous ſonne a Cardinall; and this holy Father a Pope: of whoſe death hee likewiſe

truly reporteth in this Hiſtorie, that he was poiſoned by miſtaking a cup which himſelfe and his ſonne had prouided for the diſpatch of ſome other Cardinals, that ſtood in the way of their diuelliſh deſſeignes. This hiſtorie is extant in many Editions, to the ſhame of his memory, and ſtaine of that Sea for euer. But the Oration of *Pompey Colonna* and *Anthonie Sauello*, two noble Gentlemen of *Rome*, which they made to the citizens in the Capitoll, vpon the ſuppoſed death of *Iulius* 2. is baniſhed this hiſtorie by the Inquiſition, whoſe proſcriptions are like the Athenian Oſtraciſme, that thruſt out none but the beſt and moſt worthy. Which we may iuſtly call home againe, and fitly plant in this place, to batter the rotten bulwarke of the Popes pride and vſurped authoritie. It is thus:

GVICCIAR. *The Nobilitie hath bene long enough trod downe (O ye Romanes,) enough haue thoſe generous ſpirits (whilome the conquerours of the world) liued in ſeruitude. The times paſt perhaps may in ſome ſort be excuſed, by the awfull reuerence men bore to Religion: In reſpect whereof, being accompanied with holineſſe of life and miracles, our anceſtors yeelded to the command of the Clergie, and willingly ſubmitted themſelues vnder the ſweete yoke of Chriſtian pietie, without force of armes, or violence whatſoeuer. But now what neceſſitie, what worthineſſe of theirs can poſſibly couer the ſhame of our ſlauerie? What? The integritie of life? the good example of thoſe Prieſts, or the miracles they worke? What generation is there I pray you in the world, more corrupted, more polluted, with more brutiſh and beaſtly manners? In whom it ſeemeth miraculous, that God the fountaine of Iuſtice, ſuffereth their villanies ſo long. Is this tyrannie of theirs maintained by the ſword? by the induſtrie of men? or by their daily prouidence for the preſeruation of the Papall dignitie? What generation of men is there leſſe experienced in militarie knowledge and practiſe? more giuen to ſlouth and pleaſures? or more careleſſe of the honour and good of their ſucceſſors? There are onely two States in the world, that may fitly be paralleled one with the other: This of the Popes of Rome, and that of the Sultans of Cairo. Becauſe neither the dignitie of the Sultan, nor the honours of the Mamaluches are hereditarie,*

ditary, but paſsing frō nation to nation, they are conferred vpon ſtrangers. And yet this ſeruitude of the Romanes is much more ſhameful then that of Egypt or of Syria: For it couereth in ſome ſort the ſtaine of their diſgrace, that the Mamaluches are a valorous & fierce people, accuſtomed to labors, and to a life free frō all delicacie. But whō do we Romanes ſerue? Drowſie and ſlothfull perſons, ſtrangers, and oftentimes moſt baſe, no leſſe in bloud then in condition. Time it is now at length to awake frō ſo heauie a ſleepines, and to remēber, That to be a Romane is a moſt glorious name, when it is accompanied with vertue: but that it doubleth the ſhame & infamie to him that forgetteth the honorable fame of his Anceſtors. The way is now made eaſie vnto vs: becauſe that vpon the death of the Pope they are at diſcord among thēſelues, the mindes of the great ones are diſtracted, & the prieſtly tyrannie is now more then euer heretofore hatefull to all Princes.

THis deteſtation of theirs, and proteſtation againſt the Popes temporall Lordſhip ouer *Rome*, may Chriſtian Princes iuſtly take vp againſt his ſpirituall tyrannie ouer them, & the Churches in their dominions, and ſay in the ſame tenour of words (*Regall authoritie hath bene long enough trod downe, O ye Chriſtians, long enough haue thoſe generous ſpirits, &c.*) Which Oration, whether it were theirs, or made by our Author in their perſons (as Hiſtorians vſually do) it is not material: it plainly ſheweth and truly, how the Romans themſelues ſtand affected and conceited to that Court, who are daily eie-witneſſes of the pride and filthineſſe thereof; which the Bigots of this age, and in places far remote, either will not haue the patience to heare, or the grace to beleeue. They will not be perſwaded but that the whole body of that Church is ſoūd, when her wiſe neighbors ſee how ſick ſhe is in the Head. So much are they hood-winkt and blind-folded by the *Ieſuites*, thoſe mineral Doctors, who haue digged very deep for plaiſters to couer, not for ſalues to cure the vlcer; & haue brought a miſchiefe, not a remedy into the Church. For no ſooner had men appeared, whoſe skil was good to cure this foule leproſie, but ſtraight ſtarts vp this colledge of *Quackſaluers* to hinder the work: A *Loiola* for a *Luther*, a *Rowlād* for an *Oliuer*. And as the Turkiſh *Baſſhas* aſſured the army that the *Ottoman* Emperour was liuing, and in reaſonable good

ſtate of health, when he lay dead in his litter: ſo theſe Romiſh Ianiſaries perſwade the poore people of our Chriſtian campe, that all is wel at *Rome*, & that the Popes Holineſſe is iuſt in his gouernment, vpright in his Religion, and ſound in his practiſe and conuerſation of life; when he lies ſweltring oftentimes in the ſoile of his rotten rule, and litter of leud life: Venting for truth, and to be receiued vpon pain of damnation, the ſale-able but not auailable traſh of his owne weauing. No maruell therefore though their owne *Petrarch* call for this direfull vengeance vpon his Court:

Fiamma dal ciel ſu le tue treccie pioua
Maluaggia: che dal fiume e dalle ghiande,
Per altru' impouerir ſei ricca e grande,
Poi chè di mal oprar tanto ti gioua.
Nido di tradimenti in cui ſi coua
Quanto mal per'l mondo hoggi ſi ſpande,
Di vin ſerua, di letti, & de viuande,
In cui luſſuria fa l'vltima proua.

Let fire from heauen on thy proud treſſes fall,
Thou wicked queane: who firſt on acornes fed,
Art now growne rich and fat by others bread,
Since to do well thou haſt no ioy at all.
Thou neaſt of treaſons, wherein hatched lies
All miſchiefes broached through our Hemiſphære:
In thee wine, ſlouth, and viands domineere,
And luſtfull riot playes her vtmoſt priſe.

As for thoſe other Doctors of that Church, whom we haue here among vs (the Secular Prieſts) though they retain ſtill the old Lees of that corrupted Cask of the Romiſh Church, yet they appeare to be guiltles, nay rather haters of thoſe furious nouelties brought in by the Ieſuits (at leaſt if their internal meaning agree with their external profeſſiõ.) But if they diſſemble with vs, impaling their conſciences, & oaths of obedience to our King, within this parentheſis (*Rebus ſic ſtantibus*,) & reſeruing an implicite beliefe in the *Councel of Trent*, concerning the abſolute neceſſitie of ſubiection to the Pope; ſuch temporizing muſt needs be far frõ the ingenuity & ſincerity of Chriſtian Religion, & wherin they much abuſe their diſciples here among vs. For we are in good hope, that ſince they profeſſe ſo much to retaine the old Leauen of ancient Religion, they

they will not ſuffer thẽſelues to be infected with the new equiuocations of the Ieſuiticall Sect: but as they maintaine ſo obſtinately the ancient errors of the Romiſh Church, ſo they will be loth to renounce the ancient honeſty that the world (euen in the time of greateſt blindnes) did ſo carefully preſerue, namely, honeſtie moral to their neighbor, & due & faithful obedience to their Prince. So, though they be a little too homely with the firſt Table in the point of worſhip; they wil I hope (at leaſt I wiſh) proue carefull & honeſt obſcruers of the ſecond: which, how little or much it may auaile them to their ſaluation, as I wil not take vpon me to determine, yet I am ſure it cannot faile to make them proue morally honeſt men before the world. As for their Religion (the other cauſe conſiderable in this Section) it is now ſo farded and daubed with the counterfait parget of mens traditions, like the painted women of this age, that we may ſay of it, as an old Doctor of the Church ſaid of them in his daies, *Vereor ne Deus creaturã non agnoſcat ſuã.* For Chriſtian religion was at firſt like the garment of Chriſt without ſeame or rent, and the Church that profeſſed it without Schiſme or Faction: But now this Arke of *Noah*, like the Ship of *Argos*, is ſo peeced and patched by them, with the rotten rags & ſoiled ſhreds of ſinfull mans inuention, as there is ſcarce any ſoũd timber of the old Truth remaining. Firſt ſhe was poore, then much added, after much altered, from better to worſe, and now at the worſt; like *Daniels* image, whoſe head was of gold, breaſt and armes of ſiluer, belly and thighs of braſſe, legs of iron, feet part of iron and part of clay. She was at firſt the ſacred bond that tied Princes to their people, in all lawfull adminiſtration of Iuſtice; & the people to their Princes, in all awful performance of Alleageance: But now, the one ofte̅ makes her the cloke of his ambition, and the other the colour of all their treaſons: Vnder which pretence, more Chriſtiã bloud hath bin ſhed, then is at this day in all the States of Chriſtendom. Chriſt left her with his Church poore and naked, clothed only with Simplicitie, ſupported by Faith, led by Humilitie, attended with Pietie, and armed with Conſtancie. For thus at the end of 300 yeares, did the Imperiall authoritie

finde her, like an Orphan child in the boſome of her poore mother the Church: But it entertained her as a deare Siſter: and for the mutuall loue they bare, and the comfort they found each in other, like the *Graces* they enfolded and enclaſped their armes of aſſiſtance together: like Co-heires, they parted the inheritãce between them: There was a diuiſion, but no diſcord; in the diuerſitie of order, there was an harmonie of gouernment: their *Motto* was that of the blind man and the lame in *Alciate*, (*Mutuum Auxilium:*) for Policie thought her ſelfe blind, without the direction of Religion; and Religion found her ſelfe lame, without the ſupport of Policie. And thus they ſate in their ſeuerall Courts of Iuſtice: the one in the Common Pleas of euery poore mans right: the other in the Conſiſtory of euery good mans conſcience. And now was the Church of *Rome* the mother of Truth, the nurſe of Pietie, the ſiſter of Policie, and protected by the ſword and power of ſecular authoritie. But when Princes had once endowed her with great riches, enfeoffed her with faire poſſeſſions, & inueſted her in the ioynt participation of their authoritie; then ſuch was her pride, as no colours would ſerue her but Scarlet & Purple: and ſuch her ambition, as no ſhare would content her but all. *Religio peperit diuitias, & filia deuorauit matrem.* Since whẽ, ſhe hath hatched and brought forth falſhood in opinions, impietie in actions, treachery in couenants, & ambiguitie in oathes & promiſes: cheriſhing State-troublers, foſtering King-quellers, & taking the double edged ſword of authoritie into her owne hands. *Princes reſume your right: Take away the cauſe, if ye like not the effect: It is her part to teach onely; yours onely to command: Hers, onely to be holy; yours to be iuſt.*

GVICCIAR. *And then was the Biſhop of Rome (ambition and pride not hauing yet ſeized on their hearts) taken generally for the chiefe of all other Churches, and of the Spirituall Iuriſdiction, as the Succeſſor of the Apoſtle S. Peter. Both becauſe that citie by her ancient preheminence and greatneſſe, kept ſtill the name and maieſtie of the Empire: as alſo becauſe from her, Chriſtian Religion was ſpredd ouer the greateſt part of Europe: and laſtly becauſe Conſtantine himſelfe baptized by*

by Syluester, yeilded willingly that power to him and his ſucceſſors.

NOw cometh the Church to haue her eſtabliſhed Gouernment, and a Head or chiefe thereof acknowledged. For ſhe could not well ſubſiſt, but by order; and order cannot be, but by a graduall proceeding from the inferiour to the next, and ſo to the higheſt. This Head or chiefe was the Biſhop of *Rome*. And herein he had a double power, one as a member of the Church, from Chriſt the Head: But this power was like the peace which Chriſt left his Apoſtles, (*A peace of conſcience, a power of conſcience,*) a power in things meerely Spirituall, a power to binde and looſe, to open and ſhut heauen gates: In which ſence, euery poore Prieſt lawfully ordained is a Porter as well as *S. Peter*. But he had an other power as head of the Church gouernement, from the Emperor, the ſupreame Head of all worldly power within his dominions: A power of *Oyer and Terminer* in caſes liable to the Conſiſtory, as our Iudges haue vnder the King, in caſes within their ſeuerall circuites: A power which the Emperor might well giue him, for it was not of matters originally and naturally Eccleſiaſticall (which he and other Biſhops haue immediately from Chriſt,) but of determining ſome ciuill cauſes in their Conſiſtory, which he had by the Emperors indulgence: as alſo a coactiue power, both for the honour of Epiſcopall dignitie, and to make their Spirituall cenſures in more awfull feare and regard. And this power is like the lawes by which it ruleth. For as Eccleſiaſticall canons and conſtitutions are poſitiue, abrogatiue, and tranſitiue into new: So is the power conferrable, changeable, and paſſable into another; Eſpecially vpon the alteration of the Supreme Imperiall power, frō whence it is deriued. And if *Conſtantine* gaue it to the Biſhops of *Rome*, for the three reaſons alledged here by our Author, then may he when theſe reaſons faile, or the power is abuſed, or ambition and pride ſeazeth on the hearts of thoſe Biſhops, take it from them, and conferre it vpon other Biſhops: as our *Conſtantine* hath iuſtly done, vpon the Primates of our Church in England. So then the Pope of

of *Rome* was the head of the Church Gouernement: the chiefe of all Biſhops: the firſt and the laſt: what would he haue more? The firſt, in degree and procedence, the laſt in appellation, and Dernier Reſſort, as the Parlament of *Paris* is to the other Parlaments in *France*. *Paſce oues*, and *Tibi dabo*, onely gaue him *Claues Regni*, and *Forum Conſcientiæ*, (as alſo *Accipite* gaue the ſame to the reſt of the Apoſtles:) for if Chriſt had intended him a farther power, he would haue ſealed his commiſſion with a plainer text, and a ſtronger warrant. But the temporall authority, which allotted him temples for the exerciſe of Religion, and maintenance of liuings for the religious, gaue him *Claues canonum*, and *Forum iuris*. The reaſons why it was giuen him before all others, are here expreſſed: becauſe *Rome* had now the *Imperium* and *Emporium* of the world, here was the ſeate of the Imperiall Maieſtie, and here-hence was that heauenly commoditie (Religion) vented. For till *Conſtantines* time, *Rome* was the golden mine, wherein the rich treaſures of the Truth lay hid, and as it were buried, vnder the ſtormie tempeſt and blacke clouds of hot perſecution: by the fire whereof it had bene ſo purified and refined from the droſſe of all earthly vre, as now coming to light, and to the touch, it was found to be of good Allay, and paſſed currant from this great Mart, into moſt places of *Europe*. Now if this were one of the maine cauſes of that Churches greatneſſe, why did ſhe not continue it ſo ſtill vnmingled and vnſodred? why ſuffered ſhe it to be abuſed and ſophiſticate by her Clippers, and Coiners, and Forgers, and Faith-founders? why gaue ſhe vs ſo iuſt cauſe to take no more Letters of credit from her Banckrupt checquer, and to returne no more Bils of due debt thither? why forced ſhe vs to raiſe a Bancke of our owne vpon the *Mercato Vecchio* of the Primitiue ruines, and to forſake her whom we would haue called ſtill mother, and remained her obedient children, and at her pappes, (as we did for long time) haue ſuckt the ſweete milke of pure Religion and Piety? For although our anceſtors the Britons were originally more beholden to the eaſt Church, yet are we ſo ingenuous to giue her this title, in ſuch ſence as ſhe muſt acknow-

acknowledge *Greece* for her Mother Church, and they both *Ieruſalem* for Grandmother of all: becauſe (*Primò Iudæo*) gaue her the prerogatiue. Theſe then were the true reaſons why the Pope had giuen him this Superioritie or Supremacie, call it whether you will: for, to be ſuperiour ouer any whatſoeuer, is to be ſupreame ouer all. But this is the Title they ſo much affect, and we do not much grudge it them (in the true and genuine ſence:) onely we complaine of the abuſe in the adminiſtration, and put them in minde, though too late, that *he muſt vſe his power ſparingly, that would enioy it long*. Now as pure Religion, and the Seate of the Empire were the two pillars whereupon the Popes greatnes was founded: ſo were they knit and ioynted together in ſuch a couplement, as either the failing of the one, or remouing of the other, endangered the ſore ſhaking, if not finall falling of this proud Building. For by tranſlation of the Imperiall ſeate to *Conſtantinople*, the Pope failed of that generall recognition of Supremacie formerly yeelded him. The Biſhop of this place conteſted with him for the Title: and he of *Rauenna* likewiſe put his claime in ſuite, becauſe here was the Court and Seate of the *Exarchat*: But now was the Emperour too farre off to be heard, and too weake to decide the queſtion between theſe ambitious Prelates; and the Pope growne too great to quit the poſſeſſion. Had he vſed it well, he might haue vſed it ſtill: but hauing engroſſed into his owne hands the Sole-gouernment of the Church, which at firſt was Ariſtocraticall in the Apoſtles, and after in the Patriarkes: he was not content with that power which all of them had, nor liſted himſelfe within the bounds of thoſe wholeſome lawes and Canons, which Truth and Antiquity had eſtabliſhed for the Church-gouernment; but aſſumed to himſelfe the power of making and abrogating lawes at his pleaſure, and to be aboue all Canons and Councels. And ſo whereas our Fathers of the Church, had in all pietie and prudent prouidence appointed theſe Councels as a *Tribunitian power* to reſtrain his more then *Conſular greatneſſe*; to ſyndicate and controll his imperious & violent proceedings: he takes vpon him, not only to ſtop the courſe of their power, but

alſo to hinder the calling of them, for curing ſuch diſeaſes as ſhould grow in the Church; which we now ſee to be many in the members, but none ſo deſperatly incurable as thoſe in the Head. So that, as the Church gouernment changed from an *Ariſtocracie* to a *Monarchie*; ſo likewiſe that of *Rome* is now altered from this to a *Tyrannie*. For all well reigled Monarchies admit a due mixture and temperature of the three Eſtates with the Princes power in all maine cauſes, ſuch as thoſe of abrogating olde lawes and cuſtomes, or eſtabliſhing new, as by the Diets of *Germanie* and *Poland*, by the Aſſemblies of *France*, and Parlaments of *England*, doth appeare. But where it is otherwiſe, and where the peremptorie will and wilfulneſſe of the Prince ſhall be an abſolute law to the people, and be it right or wrong, with law or againſt it, all muſt obey, or ſuffer; that power is meerly tyrannicall, as in this inſtance of the Popes proceedings is plaine. For he hath now taken from Princes the power of calling Councels, and from the Councels themſelues their proper end and vſe. Had they ſubſiſted in their primitiue force and freedome (as thoſe Parlaments, Diets, and Aſſemblies do) to ordaine and abrogate lawes in the Church, as the neceſſitie of times and viciſſitude of things required, yea and to order and reſtraine the Pope himſelfe, if in his gouernment he grew irregular and tyrannous; then had the Papiſts a better cauſe to defend, and wee leſſe cauſe to complaine. For truly neuer was there gouernment in this world planted and vpheld with greater iudgement and policie, hauing true Religion for the *Baſis* and firme foundation; and princely Authoritie for the ſtately roofe and ſafe couering of ſo goodly a building, had not the Church of *Rome* heaped ſo much ſtubble and ſtraw of mans conſtitutions vpon the marble ground of Gods ordinance. But *Euery tree which the heauenly Father hath not planted, ſhall be rooted vp.* For no policie of man can make any actions of his vnlike himſelfe that makes them, (that is) permanent and perpetuall: They haue their beginnings, motions, promotions, and ariſings, to a period, (as all Monarchies haue had) and then they decline, decay, periſh and fall, with the ſwinge of

their

their owne greatneſſe. *Ruet & ipſa Roma mole ſua*: Romes Hierarchie muſt lie in the duſt, like man that raiſed it vp to this pinnacle of pride: but Religion the groundwork muſt euer ſtand like him that layed it, *Who is yeſterday, and to day, and the ſame for euer: Who is, and that was, and that is to come.*

GVICCIAR. *It is further reported, that Conſtantine being forced by the troubles of the Eaſt to transferre the ſeate of his Empire to Biſantium (now Conſtantinople,) gaue vnto the Biſhops of Rome the abſolute dominion of that citie, and many other cities and countries of Italie. The which report though the Biſhops ſucceeding haue diligently laboured to maintaine, and by their authoritie is beleeued of many, yet of Authors of beſt credit it is much reproued, but much more by the matter it ſelfe. For it is manifeſt that then and long after, both Rome and all Italie was gouerned vnder magiſtrates deputed by the Emperors, as being ſtill ſubiect to the Empire: yea and there be alſo that denie (ſo deepe is ignorance in Antiquities) all that hath bene ſaid of Conſtantine and Syluеſter, affirming that they liued in diuers times. But no man gain-ſaieth that the Tranſlation of the Empire was the originall of the Biſhops greatneſſe: For the Emperors authoritie growing to be weaker and weaker in Italie by the croſſes and troubles they had in the Eaſt, the people of Rome withdrawing themſelues from the Emperor, and therefore attributing more to the Biſhops, began willingly to yeeld them, not a plaine ſubiection, but a certaine kinde of obedience; though this appeared but ſlowly, by reaſon of the ouer-running of the Vandals and other barbarous Nations, by whom Rome being often taken and ſacked, the Pontificall name was of long time baſe and obſcure, as touching Temporall cauſes: So was the authoritie of the Emperour through all Italie, becauſe he ſo ſhamefully left it abandoned to the Barbarians. Among which barbarous people, whoſe rauage and ſpoile was but like the furie of a ſodain floud; that of the Gothes laſted 60. years. A nation by name and profeſſion Chriſtian, deſcended from the parts of Dacia and Tartaria: who at length being driuen out of Italie by the Emperours forces, ſhe began anew to be commanded by Greeke gouernours, called of them Exarchs: who ſeated themſelues in Rauenna an ancient citie, and in thoſe daies verie rich,*

and verie much frequented, by reaſon of the fruitfulneſſe of the countrie thereabout, and for that it was inhabited by diuers Captaines and men of command, euer ſince the enlargement it had by the great nauie that Auguſtus Cæſar and other Emperours after him vſuallie kept there: as alſo for that a long time it had bene the reſidence of Theodoricus king of the Gothes, and of his Succeſſors; who in iealouſie of the Emperours power, choſe this place rather then Rome for the Seate of their Court, by reaſon it is more fitly ſeated vpon the Sea, and nearer to Conſtantinople: vpon which oportunitie of ſituation, the Exarchs likewiſe made that their reſidence, and deputed other particular Magiſtrates to the gouernment of Rome and other cities, vnder the title of Dukes. Hereupon all that in Italie was called the Exarchat of Rauenna, *which was immediatly vnder the gouerment of theſe Exarchs, and had no particular Dukes.*

THe Donation of *Conſtantine* hath here two ſtrong parties,& is ſtifly argued on both ſides. The Popes and their followers ſtand for the affirmatiue: Authors of beſt credit, for the negatiue. Thoſe, come into the liſts armed with authoritie: theſe, with the Truth. The Pope is here on the one ſide, and the Truth on the other. In this doubtfull caſe, *Guicciardine* though he were the Popes ſeruant, yet by his maſters leaue he will forſake him, and leane to the truth, as *Ariſtotle* quit his maſter *Plato*: *Charus amicus, charior veritas*. So ſhould we do; and not be ſuch apprentiſes and bondmen to *Ipſe dixit*, as to runne againſt the current of our owne reaſon and reading in matter of hiſtorie, when it is ſo authentically and demonſtratiuely (as here) confirmed. It is true, the axiomes of our faith and Religion are ἀνυπόστατα *fidem in ſe habentia*; obiects of the heart not of the braine; and therefore in theſe we entertaine faith and beleefe alone, we ſhut out reaſon and ſenſe: but in all other things we muſt be directed by reaſon, which diſtinguiſheth vs from all other creatures. But is here the Pope on the one ſide, and the Truth on the other? Then ſurely he may erre; and by maintenance & obſtinacie make his error an hereſie, euen in matter of faith, as ſome of them haue done. But this (forſooth) is not *è Cathedra*. A nice diſtinction, which

no

no reaſon can admit. For when he comes to the Chaire, to d-
pine and determine, he leaues not his paſſions and affections behinde him: he findes no more knowledge nor grace then he brought with him. Wherefore we acknowledge a reuerence and awfull reſpect to all Seates of iudgment, for Iuſtice ſake, which is there by Gods ordinance to be duly adminiſtred, but we acknowledge no vertue in the place: I feare me they haue litle of that wood in *Rome*, whereof to frame their Tribunalles. The Chaire they ſay is hole-ly, b ut in a ſence more ſenſible. As for this free Deede of gift whereby the Pope maketh his claime to *Rome*, it is clearely ouerthrowne and cancelled by this Euidence. Becauſe both in *Conſtantines* time, and long after, not onely this City, but all *Italie* was gouerned by the Emperors Deputies, and the Roman Citizens vpon their defection and reuolt from the Emperor, gaue it to the Pope: but yet with tearmes of reſtricti-on and limitation; he was not abſolute. But what needs all this quarrell, and contention betweene the Popes on the one ſide, and beſt Authors on the other about this point, whether he had it by the Emperors free donation, or peoples conſent with limi-tation, or his owne violent inuaſion? He hath now held it in ſub-iection (though not peaceable poſſeſſion) aboue 800. yeares: a preſcription long enough to iuſtifie a bad title, and no man at this day quarrels him for it: onely he would not haue vs ſearch the Records, and looke into the Conueyance, where we appa-rantly finde, how the decay of the Imperiall power was the rai-ſing of the Papall greatneſſe: and may moſt iuſtly and fitly paral-lell this his riſing from ſo low an eſtate to his now ſitting in his *Pontificalibus* in *Rome*, with that of the Turke: who, from a poore & baſe cõdition, with his maniple and rable of *Tartars*, incroach-ing by litle and litle vpon the Aſian Princes, and taking his ad-uantage vpon others diſcord and weakneſſe, is now come to ſit *Grand Signor* at *Conſtantinople*.

GVICCIAR. *In which time the Biſhops of Rome hauing nothing to do with the temporall ſword, and growing ſlothfull through their diſ-*

ſembling manners (which already had begun to ſwarue from their former ſpirituall reuerence) ſtoode as it were vaſſals to the Emperor: without whoſe confirmation, or of their Exarchs, they durſt not exerciſe or take vpon them the Papacy. Nay the Biſhops of Conſtantinople and Rauenna, (becauſe commonly the Seate of Religion followeth the power of the Empire and of Armes) conteſted with the Biſhop for ſuperiority. But not long after the ſtate of things altered, for the Lombards a fierce nation, entring Italy, made themſelues Lords of Gallia Ciſalpina, (which of them was called Lombardie) and of Rauenna, with all the Exarchat, beſides many other parts of Italy, yea they ſpread their armes as farre as the Marquiſate of Ancona, Spoletum, and Beneuentum, which had their particular Dukes. The Emperors meane while, partly through the troubles they had in Aſia, not prouiding remedy for theſe miſchiefs, partly through negligence; Rome ſeeing her ſelfe abandoned, and the office of Exarchat now extinct in Italy, began to be gouerned by the aduice and power of the Biſhop: who at length together with the Romans, being ſore afflicted by the Lombards, ranne for ſuccour to Pipin King of France. He paſsing Italy with a mighty army, draue thē from part of their dominions, hauing held it in ſubiection aboue 200 yeares; and gaue to the Biſhop and Church of Rome, (as being his by law of Armes) not onely Vrbine Agobbio, Taro, and many other places adioyning to Rome, but alſo Rauenna with her Exarchat: vnder which (they ſay) is included all that lieth from the confines of Placentia, neare the territory of Pauia, betweene the riuer Pò and the Appennine hilles, the mariſhes of Venice, and the Adriaticke Sea, and from Rimini to the riuer Talfa then called Aſaurus. But after Pipins death, the Lombards troubling theſe Popes afreſh, and that which was giuen them, Charles the ſonne of Pipin (who after his great victories was worthily ſurnamed the Great) hauing vtterly deſtroyed the Lombards, confirmed his Fathers Donation to the Church of Rome; and during the time of this his warre reaſſured to the Pope, the gift of the Marquiſate, and the Duchie of Spoletum, which comprehended the citie of Aquila, and part of Abruzzo. Theſe things are deliuered for Truth: To which ſome Eccleſiaſticall writers adde this alſo, that Charles gaue to the Church all Liguria, as farre as the riuer Varo, the furtheſt limit of Italy; Beſides Mantoa, and all that which

the

the Lombards held in Furly, and in Iſtria: As much (ſaith ſome one) of the Iſle of Corſica, and all the countrie which lieth betweene the cities of Luni and Parma. For which benefits the Kings of France being magnified and extolled by thoſe Popes, purchaſed the title of moſt Chriſtian. *And afterwards in the yeare of our Lord* 800, *Pope Leo with the people of Rome, (without any authority but his, who was as their Head) elected Charles Emperor of Rome: Separating this part of the Empire euen in title frō that of the Emperor of Cōſtantinople; as if Rome and the Weſt parts, not being defended by them, had need of an Emperor of their owne.*

The State of the Empire had bene now ſicke of a conſumption for many yeares. The *Dacian and Tartarian Gothes* like two ſtrong and maligne humours, had ſeazed vpon *Rome*, and other the more noble and vitall parts of *Italy*; they had intruded vpon the Emperors inheritance, rauaging and ſpoiling all that goodly countrey: but by his army and naturall forces (as it were,) the venome of thoſe ſtrong ingredients is againe driuen out, the office of Exarchat is eſtabliſhed, and the bodie of the Empire ſomewhat recouered from this deſperate weakeneſſe, though not wholly reſtored to the former ſtate of perfect health and ſound conſtitution. Yet for all that the Pope is not ſo great, but that he ſtill continues the Emperors vaſſall, and dares not take vpon him the Papacy, vnleſſe he be firſt accepted and confirmed by the Emperor, or by his deputy the Exarch of *Rauenna*. But ſhortly after the body of the Empire falles into a relapſe, and the effect ſhewes that *A recidiuation is more dangerous then the roote of a diſeaſe*: for the *Lombards* a fierce people, aſſailing *Italy* afreſh, tyrannize ouer her with more violence and fury then the *Gothes*; They pull downe the authority, and quite extinguiſh the office and name of the Exarchat; they domineere with more inſolence and continue longer: for thoſe ſtoode not in their ſtrength aboue 60. yeares, theſe 200. at the leaſt. *Rome* and the Pope ſmart vnder this ſcourge, and groane vnder this burden. They cannot helpe themſelues, and the Emperor is not ſo farre off in place, as in abilitie and meanes to relieue them: They flee to *France* for ſuccour.

ſuccour. The French King inuades, ſubdues, and expelles the *Lombards*, and giues to the Church *Vrbine*, *Agobbio*, *Taro*, *Rauenna*, and many other *Signories*. This then that our Author here ſets downe out of authenticall record, is the Popes *faire Charter of Romagna*, with the Buttings and Boundaries preciſely ſet downe: whoſe title thereunto is lawfull and good: for what can be freer then gift, if the Doner haue a propertie and right in the thing giuen? And what right can be more iuſt and lawfull then that of the ſword vpon an vſurper? Beſides, the ſonne confirmes the fathers donation, which makes the title the ſtronger: and reaſſures vnto the Church the Marquiſate of *Ancona*, and Duchie of *Spoletum*. As for that other ſhare in the *Ligurian mountaines*, *Furly*, and *Iſtria*, whereunto the Popes Proctors and Paraſites haue entitled him, and wherewith no Secular power euer inueſted him, it is but an *Vtopian Signory* of the Popes: and if he ſhould put in his claime, the States of *Venice*, and *Genoa*, the Dukes of *Sauoy*, and *Mantoa*, with other Italian Princes, would quickly put in their barre. But for this munificence of the French Kings to the Church, the Pope returned him a tribute, not of money or homage, (for he held it as Lord Paramount, and ſo it was giuen him,) but of gratitude and thankfulneſſe: In token whereof he gaue them the title of *Moſt Chriſtian*: an honour which they in thoſe times willingly accepted, and they and their ſucceſſors ſince haue euer taken vpon them; yet was it not ſo ſure to them and their heires, but that it might be lyable to forfeiture, if it pleaſed his Holineſſe. For but 100. yeares ſince, vpon a diſpleaſure taken againſt that King, he intended to take the title from him, and to beſtow it vpon the King of England: the *Bull* was ready drawne for the Seale, and nothing wanted but the diſpatch by meſſenger. And as here he reſolued to take from that Crowne, that Noble title of *Moſt Chriſtian*, which he chalenged to do becauſe he had giuen it: ſo, much about the ſame time, and vpon farre iuſter cauſe, many Chriſtian Princes and States tooke from him his proud title of *Supreme Head of the Church-gouernment* ouer them and their ſubiects: becauſe Princes had formerly granted

granted him that power for the generall good and benefit of the Church,which now they ſaw by their experience, and felt to their hurt,to be by him moſt groſly and ſhamefully abuſed.But ſo much haue our diſloyall *Loyoliſts* benummed mens ſenſes with ſuperſtitious ſtupiditie, as all that the Pope hath, muſt be beleeued to be *Iure diuino*;all that he ſaith,to be *Goſpell and truth*; all that he doth,to be *holy and iuſt*. And herein none are ſo farre from reaſon and ſence as we of this Nation,that are farre remote from this Court,and ſee not the abuſe: Nay we are ſo peruerſe,as we will not beleeue what we ſee in this caſe;but they that are neare it, and ſee daily the contrary, are of contrary opinion. Let them reade but *Guicciardines* concluſion of this Digreſſion, (which that Church hath moſt wrongfully effaced without deſert,and reproued without anſwer:)he was a worthy Gentleman, of a noble houſe, learned in the Lawes, experienced in the greateſt affaires,well read in the moſt approued Authors, allowed of all wiſe men for his iudgement, beleeued of all good men for his truth; he wrote not but what he ſaw by proofe,or knew by reading;he complained not but vpon iuſt cauſe: Reade they him, (I ſay againe) and be ſatisfied in this point or neuer. For why ſhould theſe poore ignorant men entruſt thoſe *Ignatians* onely, and none others,with the treaſure of their deareſt Iewels,their Knowledge,Iudgement,Conſcience,Soule and all? Why may they not as well abuſe vs with lies from *Rome*,as they miſ-informe the ſimpler ſort of Catholicks there,of vs? You ſhall ſee in ſome of their Churches,Tables hung vp to pourtray and expreſſe to the life,the ſeuerall perſecutions of Catholicks here in *England*, in the late Queenes time, ſome worried to death in beaſts skins by maſtiffes: others pricked vnder the nailes with ſharpe needles: others drawne in peeces with wilde horſes: and almoſt all the ſeuerall ſorts of torture repreſented vnto vs in hiſtory out of the ten firſt perſecutions of the Primitiue Church; to bring the ſimpler ſort there in deteſtation of vs and our Religion: as by leaſing and inſinuation they bring the ſimpler ſort here into admiration,or rather adoration of their Pope. But ſome of that

Church (better experienced in our State-affaires, and more impartiall in their affections to vs) wonder at our ſtupide credulity; others that ſtand ill affected to our Country, laugh at our ſimplicitie, and feed the humour euen at their owne charge, expecting when it ſhould proue the predominant Qualitie in the body of this our famous Iland, and by the fiery inflammation thereof, ſet the whole in combuſtion. For who is ſo mad to thinke, it is our ſoules health they ſeeke? They ſeeke not vs but ours: they ſeeke not the poore, but the great ones: they are wiſe in their generation, for they know one of theſe drawes with him a thouſand, and the taking in of one principall Fort, brings vnder contribution the country round about. And they are wiſe in our generations alſo, for they know what Stocke in our country is fitteſt to plant on, and which timber in our Forreſt is apteſt to make their ſhafts of, *that the common enemie may haue his quiuer full of them when we meete him in the Gates of danger*. They are moreouer wiſe in our naturall inclinations: for although the Maſculine ſexe be more worthy then the Feminine, either in a Grammaticall conſtruction or a Ciuill, yet they chooſe this latter, as the apter for their end and purpoſe, becauſe it is the eaſlier miſ-led, and the hardlier reclaimed; the weaker to reſiſt by reaſon, and the ſtronger to perſiſt in wilfulneſſe: new-fangled in their opinions as in their attire, louing nothing that is vulgar, no not the truth. And laſtly, they are wiſe in our Oeconomicall adminiſtration, for they know that mothers gouerne here *in chiefe* in the hearts of children: Fathers but prouide for them, mothers feed them; fathers are auſtere, the mothers indulgent; fathers haue the awe, mothers the loue; fathers haue the eye, but mothers the heart: from whom with their milke they ſucke this Veriuyce, wherewith the teeth of many great families are ſet on edge, and whereby within theſe few yeares their number is increaſed here among vs to a greater proportion (it muſt needs be a weed it groweth ſo faſt) then hiſtory can ſumme vp vnto vs in *Rome* of good Chriſtians, vpon the account of the firſt three hundred yeares. But returne we to our hiſtory. That prenominall Frontlet of *Moſt Chriſtian*, the

the French King weares ſtill as the faireſt gemme of his Diademe: So is the *Reall honour* of the Imperiall Maieſtie conferred here vpon him. The Pope and the people of *Rome* giue the French this Title. For who but the Romanes ſhould chooſe an Emperour of the Romanes? And therefore he had not this power alone, much leſſe of himſelfe, but ioyntly with the reſt of the citizens; And ſo by conſequence, not as he was Head and gouernour of the Church, but as he was Biſhop of that citie: for it was his place in *Rome*, and not his office in the Church, that gaue him this power; which was not of ordination onely in himſelfe, but of ſuffrage with the reſt. And ſurely moſt conſonant it was to the neceſſitie of the times, that as in the minoritie and weakneſſe of the Church, the Emperor allotted her a Guardian of her owne, to bring her vp well, to maintaine her rights and priuiledges, & to defend her inheritance in his Court of Wards from the intruſion of others, vnder the ſafe-gard and protection of the ſupreame Imperiall Maieſtie: So now the whole State of this citie of *Rome* both Eccleſiaſticall and Ciuill, in this vtter decay of the Imperial power, ſhould chooſe them a temporal Head of their owne, vnder whom both thoſe States of that Towne might reſt ſecured from the incurſions and inundations of forraigne and fierce Nations, wherunto formerly it had bin ſubiect.

GVICCIAR. *By which ſeparation, the Emperours of Conſtantinople neither loſt Sicilia, nor thoſe parts of Italie, which running from Naples to Manfredonia, are liſted with the ſea; for they were ſtill vnder thoſe* Emperours. *Neither for all this, was that power taken from the Emperour,* That the election of the Pope ſhould not ſtand good without the confirmation of the Emperour; *in whoſe name Rome was ſtill gouerned: Nay the Popes in all their Bulles, Priuiledges and Grants, expreſſed the Date in theſe formall words (Such a one our Lord the Emperour raigning.) In which eaſie Subiection or Dependance, call it whether ye will, the Popes continued till the ſucceſſe of things emboldened them to take the rule themſelues. For the power of the Emperours beginning to decline, firſt in the Succeſſors of Charles (while yet the Em-*

pire was among them) through their discord and ciuill warre: and after by being translated to the Princes of Germanie, not so powerfull as were those other successors of Charles, by reason of the greatnesse of the kingdome of France: The Pope and people of Rome, by whose Magistrates she now began to be gouerned (though not without much trouble and tumult) derogating by all meanes as much as they could from the iurisdiction of the Emperours, established for a Law, That the election of the Pope should be no more confirmed by them. Which Law for many yeares was obserued or broken, according as by the alteration of their affaires the Imperiall power increased or diminished. The which growing to some strength in the race of the Othoes of Saxonie (Gregorie being likewise a Saxon and chosen Pope) through the loue he bare to his countrie, and hate to the Romanes for the persecutions he had endured by them, transferred to his owne nation the power of choosing the Emperour, in such forme and manner as it is vsed at this day: forbidding the Emperours elect (to reserue to the Pope some prerogatiue) to take vpon them the Title of Emperour or of Augustus, vntill they had receiued the Imperiall Crowne. Hence grew the custome of their going to Rome to be crowned, and till then to vse no other Title but King of the Romanes, or Cæsar. But afterwards, when the Othoes line was extinct, and the power of the Emperors diminished, by reason the empire remained not hereditarie in great Princes, then began Rome openly to draw her necke out of the yoke of the Emperors obedience, and many other cities with her rebelled, during the raigne of Conradus of Sueuia. The Popes of Rome also seeking to enlarge their owne power, became as it were Lords of Rome, though many times through the insolencies and dissentings among the people of Rome, they found many oppositions. For the repressing whereof (by the fauour of Henrie 2. Emperour, and then at Rome) the Pope by a law now made, transferred the power of chooſing Popes vpon the Cardinals onely.

THe glasse of time from Christ to vs is halfe runne out: the Empire is rent in two parts both in title and inheritance.

The West Empire is giuen to *France*, the East is left to *Constantinople*: he of the West possesseth nothing of the firme inheritance, but the Imperiall Preheminence and Prerogatiue he re-

taineth

taineth ſtill, in as ample and large manner as before. For, concerning his Preheminence, all the Popes Bulles, Briefs, and Grants had their date running after this Tenor: (*Such a one our Lord the Emperor raigning.*) And as touching his Prerogatiue, he ſtill confirmed the Election of the Pope: without him the act was inualidous and fruſtrate, the new Elect vncapable, and the place voide by law. But by whom was the Pope elected? By the people of *Rome*: a mutinous, ſeditious and rebellious multitude: the people and the Emperor make the Pope, the people and the Pope make the Emperor. In both which elections, the people ſeeme to haue the more actiue part, the Emperor and the Pope the negatiue onely. But is the Pope elected by that many-headed monſter the multitude, that will ſing *Oſanna* at noone, and cry *Crucifige* at night? comes he in by ſuch an election, where the multiplicity of voyces ouerſwayes the validitie of reaſons? where commonly the greater part giue their *Placet* to the vnworthier partie? Then ſurely many of our Forefathers feared iuſtly, that the Holy Ghoſt (whom they pretend to be Preſident in all their Councels) had no Seate in ſuch Seſſions: and therefore denied the neceſſity of this Conſequence; that being once Pope, all Chriſtians are bound in conſcience, and vpon paine of damnation, to obey him. But now cometh in a new election of the Pope, by a new tranſlation of the Empire, which after ſome 80. yeares reſidence hereditary in the ſucceſſors of Charles the Great, is transferred from *France* to *Germany*, and there made Electiue. For theſe Princes being none of them ſo powerfull as a Monarch of *France*, the Emperor begins to loſe his ſtrength, and the Pope dares to take much more vpon himſelfe then he was wont, and to detract much more from others then in right he ought: he takes from the Emperor the prerogatiue of confirming the new elect Pope, and from the Romans that double power which they had: Of electing the Emperor (which he giues to certain Germaine Princes,) & electing the Pope of *Rome*, (which he giues to the Cardinalles:) and ſurely had he reſerued to the Emperor his former right in the confirmation, this maner of ele-

ction had bene much better then that other: not much vnlike our elections in the Church of *England* by the Deane and Chapter, confirmed by the King. For theſe Cardinalles were at the firſt ſimple Vicars or Prebends of ſeuerall pariſhes in *Rome*: but as the caſe now ſtandeth, the election is altered *à malo in peius*, becauſe they are not all as at the firſt, meere Church-men: ſome of them are not entred into any ſpirituall order (ſaue that of Deacon) and many of theſe he chooſeth out of great houſes, and of Princes bloud, without reſpect of age, learning or piety; being ſo yong (as the philoſopher ſaith) both in yeares and manners, as they are *Inidonei auditores moralis philoſophiæ*, much more *Indigni Cardines ſanctæ matris Eccleſiæ*. Theſe men he dignifieth with titles, endoweth with reuenewes, and inueſteth with great offices and tot-quots of Church-liuings, to maintain their riot & pomp: that they may backe him with their great families and friends to ſupport his vſurped authority and pride: which he voweth to hold faſt, like *Iulius* 2, if not with *Peters* keyes, yet with *Paules* ſword: If not by threates and excommunication, yet by warre & bloudſhed: like the enraged witch of *Greece*, *Flectere ſi nequeat Superos Acherontа mouebit*, if God will not hold him vp, the diuell ſhall: when paper and lead loſe their force, he tries what fire and powder can do. Now if theſe be the *Princes Electors of the Papacy*, what hand can Chriſt haue in their election, but his withdrawing hand of long ſufferance? where the choice is only in the Cardinalles, and the better part of theſe ouerborne by the greater, and theſe carried away with particular reſpects of enuy or malice, or to their proper ends of ambition and couetouſneſſe. Two third parts of the Conſiſtory are ſufficient to make a Pope, and be he neuer ſo inſufficient or vnworthy, yet the election is Canonical. Looke into any of their Conclaues or Seſſions for an election, you ſhall commonly finde three or foure ſeuerall heads of Factions (Minions to three or foure precedent Popes) by whom they had their greatneſſe, and by it their followers: Among theſe you ſhall obſerue ſuch iealouſies and emulations, ſuch ſupplanting and ſubornation, ſuch canuaſing for voyces,

ſuch

ſuch ſetting of ſtales, ſuch working of friends, ſuch vndermining of oppoſites, ſuch promiſes and threates, ſuch iugling and falſe play, that we may truly ſay of the moſt of them, as is recorded of one; *They enter like Foxes*: with more cunning and cheating then is vſed in the choiſe of any other Magiſtrate, in any ſtate whatſoeuer. Nay there be ſuch proficients and craftſmaſters in this art, as haue writ comments vpon this text, and giuen the Cardinalles a method and rules, how to carry this buſineſſe with fineſt conueyance, for effecting their purpoſe, and electing a Papable creature of their owne. Surely theſe men may well chooſe him the Prince of the Churches State in *Italy* (as being Peeres of the ſame) and make him Supreme Gouernor of all cauſes aſwell Eccleſiaſticall as Ciuil, in thoſe her Signories & Dominions: But to make him Head and Gouernor of the whole ſtate of Chriſts Church they cannot. Let them hold the power and prerogatiue of the Palatines and Caſtellans in *Poland* (where the Scepter is likewiſe eligible) to chooſe him Head ouer themſelues and States, not ouer others, whom they little knowne and haue leſſe to do withall. For what haue the Emperors to do ouer vs? much leſſe the Pope (his Vaſſalle) and the Popes Vaſſalles leaſt of all: who had all their authority and gouernement originally from the Emperor. If they will not approue our Biſhops and Prieſts becauſe they haue not their ordination from them, as they had heretofore: why ſhould we ſubmit our ſelues to the Pope, or admit of this his election? For if this by his Cardinals be good, what was then that former, when the whole citie of *Rome*, Clergie and Laitie, choſe him, and the Emperor confirmed him? But if both be allowed for good, and the authority exerciſed by both maintained for iuſt and lawfull; why ſhould not the dignities and orders in our Church be ſacred and holy, though the ordination be altered? whereinto none can enter among vs, but he muſt firſt acknowledge an inward calling, and be approued for his conuerſation of life, and ſufficiencie of learning, beſides other things neceſſarily required by our Canons. But what calling call ye that I pray you of the Pope here in Conclaue? For he comes

comes not to *Peters* chaire at Chriſts call, (*Sequere me*,) as *Peter* did: But a yong Cardinall of the later edition, and (perhaps) worſt condition, a Nephew to the laſt Pope, and a Fauourite of the time, comes with his followers, out-numbers his oppoſites, and names his man: *Dixit & factus eſt*; The buſineſſe is at an end: Onely the reſt come in for company, or for feare, when they ſee they cannot preuaile. For in the Cardinalles *Conclaue*, as in *Plutos* Parlament, there muſt be a conſent. *Adfremuit Proſerpina, allatrauit Cerberus, aſciuit plebs, ſic apud eos ſanciuntur omnia*: The whole *Conclaue* conuenteth, euery faction propoundeth, the ſtrongeſt preuaileth, the whole Quire conſenteh, and then *Te Deum*, the new Pope is choſen. A new Pope indeede, and a new kinde of Pope, farre vnlike thoſe of former times. For now he abſolutely ſhakes off the yoake of obedience to the Emperor. The citie of *Rome* it ſelfe alſo with many other great townes runne into manifeſt rebellion againſt him: and this holy Head of the Church, becomes chiefe head of the faction, as appeareth in this next ſection.

GVICCIAR. *To the greatneſſe of the Pope, now alſo happened this new augmentation. For the Normans of whom the firſt was William Fierabacchio, hauing got from the Emperors of Conſtantinople the Countries of Puglia and Calabria: Robert Guicciadorno one of that race, either to ſtrengthen himſelfe with ſome colour of Religion, or to be more able to defend himſelfe againſt thoſe Emperors, or for ſome other reſpect; reſtored Beneuentum to the Church, as to it of right belonging: and acknowledged to hold the Duchie of Puglia & Calabria in fee of the Church of Rome: whoſe example one of his family imitating, and driuing William one of the ſame ſtocke out of Puglia and Calabria, he recognized to hold thoſe Prouinces in fee of the Church, Anno* 1130, *vnder the title of the King of both Sicills: The one on this ſide the Faro, the other beyond: The Popes not refuſing, for their owne particular ambition and profit, to cheriſh and maintaine the tiranny and vſurpation of others. For which cauſe, pretending yet further (as the ambitious deſire of man is neuer ſtaied) the Popes alſo began to depriue ſome of thoſe kings, that*

that were not obedient to their commandements, and to grant thoſe kingdomes to others. By this meanes they came to Henrie ſonne of Frederick Barbaroſſa, and from Henrie to Frederick the 2. his ſonne, all three ſucceſsiuely Emperors of Rome. But Frederick becoming a ſharpe ſcourge to the Church, (in whoſe time ſprang vp the two factions Guelphes and Ghibellines, the Pope being head of the one, and the Emperor of the other) the Pope after the death of the Emperor granted the Inueſtiture of thoſe kingdomes to Charles Earle of Aniow and Prouence, impoſing vpon them a yearely tribute of fiue thouſand ounces of golde, and with condition that thence after none of thoſe Kings ſhould accept to be Emperor: which condition is euer ſince expreſly ſpecified in all their Inſtalments. The kingdome of the Iſle of Sicil being afterwards poſſeſſed by the Kings of Arragon, was in ſhort time freed of that Tribute, and of the Recognition to be held in fee of the Church. It is alſo a report (though not ſo true as what hath bene ſaid hitherto) that Mawde the Counteſſe, a rich Princeſſe in Italie, gaue to the Church that part of Italie which is limited by the riuer Peſcia, and the Caſtle of San Quirico on the one ſide, and by the riuer of Tyber, and the neather ſea on the other, now called the Patrimonie of S. Peter. Others alſo adde, that ſhe gaue to the Church the citie of Ferrara, but neither is this certaine. But that yet is more doubtfull which ſome one hath written, that Autopert King of the Lombards, in their moſt flouriſhing time, gaue to the Church the Cocceian Mountaines, wherein they ſay is included Genoa, euen as farre as Prouence. And that Lutiprand a King of the ſame nation, gaue her Sabina, a countrie neare Rome, Narni and Ancona, with diuers other places.

NOw comes the Church of *Rome* to be entitled to both the *Sicils*, that is, *Sicilia* it ſelfe, ſtill ſo called, and almoſt all that which at this day is called the kingdome of *Naples*. She had that of *Romagna* lawfully: how comes ſhe by this? By the grant of an vſurper, a tyrant. She giues him the title of King; and he yeelds her the homage and fealtie of a Vaſſall, as to his ſupreame Soueraigne. Thus for a time they hold good quarter and correſpondencie together *comme Larrons en Foyre*. But friendſhip baptized in Ambition and Tyrannie, is quickly renounced: for not long

after ſhe depriues theſe French (Succeſſors of *Guicciadorno*,) and inueſteth the Dutch (Succeſſors of *Barbaroſſa*) in theſe kingdomes; The father, ſonne and grandfather, all three Emperours ſucceſſiuely. But the holy Father is diſpleaſed with this vngracious grandſonne, vpon ſome miſdemeanour of his, and now in reuenge he begins to play *Rex* (it is not yet fiue hundred yeares ſince:) Now he begins to thunder and lighten like angry *Ioue*, & laies about him on all ſides with his Keyes in the one hand, and his Sword in the other: the Hiſtories are full of the troubles and miſeries of thoſe times. But why did not he this before? Had none of thoſe Chriſtian Emperours formerly failed of their dutie to the Empire, when they left *Rome* abandoned to the violence of the enemie? or of their obedience and awfull reuerence to the Papacie, when they placed and diſplaced Popes at their pleaſure? If he had as great power before, why did he not vſe it when he had as great cauſe? If he had it not then, why doth he now vſurpe it? The death of *Henrie* 3. in *France*, and failing of the fire-worke here in *England*, will anſwer vs eaſily to this point. For the Pope, *As he neuer approues a miſchiefe till it be done, ſo he neuer chalengeth a power till he be able by the ſword and fine force to maintaine the vſurpation.* As here with his faction of *Guelphes* he did, againſt the Emperour and his *Ghibellines*. But this furie againſt *Frederick* hath ſome colour of iuſtice; he might vpon a forfeit giue or take *Naples* to whom or frō whō he pleaſed, for he was the chiefe Lord (though by grant of a tyrāt) but now of later years he wil giue the Weſt *Indies* to *Spaine*, and the Eaſt to *Portugall*: he will giue *Great Brittaine* to him that can get it, and a new world (if there be any) to him that can finde it. The vndertakers know well enough, they be not his to giue, (except from him that ſaid, *All this will I giue thee.*) But euery falſe Pretext is a iuſt Title to the ſharpe ſword of Ambition once vnſheathed: ſo that it is euident, there was neuer ſo couetous a taker, nor ſo prodigall a giuer. But if he will needs be giuing, let him do it of his owne: let him giue out of *Romagna*; his title hath here bene tried, and proued lawfull: Or out of *S. Peters* Patrimony (a faire portion in *Tuſcanie*) which is here ſomewhat

what doubted, though neither trauerſed nor euicted from him. Onely I would intreate him to ſpare *Naples*, it is in a good hand alreadie, and one that will hold it hard vnder his noſe, and in ſpite of his teeth, though his Holineſſe be much grieued at it.

GVICCIAR. *Thus as the ſtate of things varied, ſo varied the eſtate of theſe Popes with the Emperors. For being at firſt for many ages perſecuted by the Emperors, and after freed from this terror by the conuerſion of Conſtantine, they tooke reſt: and attending onely to ſpirituall matters, they liued as it were* meerly ſubiect *many yeares vnder the ſhadow of the Emperours; and continued long after in low eſtate, being quite debarred from medling with them, by reaſon of the Lombards greatneſſe. But after that by the meanes of the kings of France they had obtained a temporall power, they yet held ſtrict amitie with the Emperors, and depended wholly vpon their authoritie, ſo long as the dignitie Imperiall continued in the Succeſſors of Charles the Great, both in memorie of former benefits giuen and receiued betweene them, as alſo in regard of the Emperours greatneſſe. After the declination whereof, they ſeparating themſelues wholly from their friendſhip, began to make open profeſſion that the Pontificall dignitie was rather to giue lawes to the Emperours, then to take them. And therfore hating aboue all things to returne to their former ſubiection, and that none of the Emperours might attempt their former right, either in Rome or elſewhere (as ſome of them, either of greater force, or of more noble ſpirits had eſſayed to do) they oppoſed themſelues openly by force of armes againſt the Emperors, being aſſiſted with thoſe tyrants, which vnder the title of Princes (with the cities which had freed themſelues) had quit their alleageance, and acknowledged no longer the authoritie of the Emperor. Hereupon it grew, that the Popes taking more and more vpon them, and vſing the terrour of their ſpirituall armes for temporall occaſions; and interpreting that as the Vicars of Chriſt vpon earth, they were aboue the Emperours; and that the charge of worldly matters in many caſes appertained to them, they ſometimes depriued them of their Imperiall dignitie, and ſtirred vp the Electors to chooſe others in their roomes: and on the other ſide, the Emperors either choſe, or cauſed to be choſen other Popes.*

THis Recapitulation or Summary of what hath formerly bin ſaid, brings vs to the full period of the Popes height and greatneſſe, (though his ambition be boundleſſe, and his pride vvithout period.) For now he vvill no longer take lawes of the Emperours, but as *Vicar of Chriſt* vvill giue lawes vnto them. He proues it out of good authors, *The Tyrants and Rebels in Italie*: and by ſtrong arguments, *Fire and ſword, curſing and excommunication, armes temporall and ſpirituall*. But he carries it not ſo eaſily away: for the Emperour encounters him at his owne weapons: Fire againſt fire, ſword againſt ſword, father againſt ſon, *Ghibelline* againſt *Guelphe*, with the effuſion of much Chriſtian bloud; and all the miſerable effects that bloudie warre brings with it. Where is now our great Law-giuer, by whoſe wholeſome and peacefull ordinances the whole Church ſhould be gouerned? Where is this great Shepheards care of Chriſts little flocke, that ſends them thus to the ſhambles of death and deſtruction? Our *Lator-Legis* and *Paſtor-Gregis*, is now become a *Legi-rupa* and *Sangui-ſuga*. He hath turned *Paſce oues* to *Veſci ſanguine*: he hath paſſed his commiſſion (as *Cæſar* did,) and is waded vp to the chinne through the bloudie *Rubicon*, and ſo is become Rebell to his Soueraigne Lord the Emperour, as alſo to the ſtate of the Church, whereof he had the gouernment by commiſſion. Here therefore it is not amiſſe to conſider as *Gamaliel* did, whence the Pope had this commiſſion, whether of God, or of men? If of men, it muſt proue as other gouernments haue done: if of God, it muſt haue the foundation in Humilitie, the raiſing in Iuſtice, and the continuance in Peace, as the Goſpell had: out of which holy Roote can neuer grow ſuch ranke weeds of Pride, Iniuſtice and Warre. But to ſay (as they of the Romiſh Church write) that if Chriſt had not left this Gouernour to his Church, he had left the ſheepe without a Shepheard; hath no neceſſitie of conſequence: vve may rather inferre, that it had bene a committing of the Lambes to the VVolfe. But a care he had of his Church, and ſo he teſtified: a Gouernour hee promiſed, and ſo hee performed.

A Gouernor that ſhould euer comfort vs in all our tribulations and afflictions, and that ſhould euer continue vs in his Truth, (*The Spirit of Truth*) to direct and guide vs in all the waies of Godlineſſe, Verity, and Vertue. This Gouernor he ſent within ten daies after his Aſcenſion. Other then this to rule in Chiefe in the inward man, the Church hath none; and he ruleth ſtill in the hearts of her children, and euer ſhall.

GVICCIAR. *The ſtate of the Church being much weakened by theſe diſcords, and no leſſe by the reſidence of the Court of Rome for 70. yeares together at the citie of Auignon, as alſo by the Schiſme which followed the Popes returne into Italie: many great men vſurped vpon the cities in their owne countries, though in ſubiection to the Church, eſpecially thoſe of Romagna: which vſurpers the Popes either purſued, or not being able to ouercome them, made Grants of thoſe places to the ſame men; To hold of the Church in fee; or elſe ſet vp other heads againſt them, and gaue (theſe) the inueſtiture. Thus began the cities of Romagna to haue ſeuerall Lords, vnder the title for the moſt part, of Vicars of the Church: So the gouernment of Ferrara being giuen by the Pope, to Azzo d'Eſtè, was after granted him vnder the title of Vicar: whoſe familie in proceſſe of time was dignified with more noble titles. So Bologna being taken by Iohn Viſconti Archbiſhop of Millan, was after granted him by the Pope, vnder the title of a Vicariat. By like meanes, in many cities of the Marquiſate of Ancona, of the patrimonie of Saint Peter, and of Vmbria, (now called the Duchy of Spoleto) there ſtart vp ſeuerall Lords either againſt the Popes will, or with his forced conſent. The like variations happening alſo to the Imperiall cities in Lombardie, it fell out very often that according to the current of the times, the cities of Romagna, and others of the Churches ſtate, reuolting openly from her gouernment, would acknowledg to holde thoſe places in fee of the Emperor: And thoſe that held Millan, Mantoa, and other Imperiall cities in Lombardie, would acknowledge to hold them in fee of the Church. And in theſe very times Rome was gouerned of her ſelfe: though the Church held ſtill the name of the gouernment. For albeit at the firſt when the*

Popes returned from Auignon into Italie, they were obeied as Lords of the towne: yet notwithstanding the Romans shortly after, choosing the office of the Banderesi, fell to their old obstinacy. Whereupon the Popes hauing litle authoritie there, left the Towne, and resided elsewhere: vntill the townesmen being impouerished, and fallen into great disorder, through the absence of the Court; and the yeare 1400. approaching, in which they hoped (if the Pope were at Rome,) there should be great concourse of all Christendome, by reason of the Iubiley: they made humble supplication to Pope Boniface, that he would returne; offering to abolish the office of the Banderesi, and to submit themselues wholly to his obedience. Vpon which conditions he returning, and the Romans attending to the gaine of that yeare; he possessed himselfe absolutely of the gouernment of that citie, and put a Garrison in the Castle of S. Angelo. Whose Successors, though till the time of Eugenius they had somewhat to do, yet afterwards they gouerned that citie at their pleasure without any further trouble.

WE haue formerly seene by what right the Church of *Rome* holds her temporall Inheritance in *Italie*: Here we see how wrongfully it is wrested and wrung out of her possession, and vpon what occasion. The Lords of *Romagna*, and other parts of *Italie*, see her much weakened by her forraine warres with the Empire, and her intestine garboiles within her owne bowels by a Schisme, as also that she is farre from them, and the Court resident at *Auignon*, (the very reason of the Churches reuolt from the Empire) they take the aduantage of the time, and euery one gets a fleece. It was vniustly done of them, (though she were iustly serued, that had manie times done the like vpon the Empire.) There is like reuolt in manie Imperiall townes of *Italie*: they all change their Copie. The Popes rebells acknowledge to hold of the Emperor, and the Emperors to hold of the Church. *Rome* also will not be ruled, she will haue officers of her owne: and were it not that she is poore of her selfe, and cannot liue without the residencie of the Court, she would no more then others liue vnder the presidencie of the Pope. But necessitie

driues

driues the Romans to accept him for their Soueraigne Lord: & iealouſie of another reuolt, makes him to keepe them in awe, by his Garriſon in *S. Angelo*, (as now in theſe later times he forceth the world to obedience, by his Legionaryes of *S. Loyola.*) Thus by a long *ſeries* and tract of time, hath our Author brought vs from the infancie of the Chuch, and publick maintenance thereof by Imperiall authoritie, (the true time of the Churches Iubiley) to the yeare of our Lord 1400. the ſecond Iubiley of the Churches Inſtitution. For it began not till 1300. when it was ordained by *Boniface* 8. to be celebrate and ſolemnized euery hundreth yeare: after that it changed to euerie fiftieth by *Clement* 6. and ſince to euerie fiue and twentith by *Sixtus* 4. The true reaſon of the Inſtitution is here giuen vs, and the ſame (one of them) that we giue for our Marts and Faires; not to draw people from ſinne, but to draw multitudes to *Rome;* not for the good of Gods Church, but for the enriching of that Citie and Court. Though the citie I muſt confeſſe, affords vs the better ware, and cheaper peniworth: for there we haue foode, raiment and lodging for our money. But on the other ſide of the Faire (which is no better then a Fripperie of the rotten rags of mans inuention,) as we haue nothing without money, ſo we haue nothing for our monie, but the ballets of Indulgences and Pardons, babies of *Saints-pictures*, Rattles of Beads and Medals, with other ſuch hobby-horſes, and traſh, fit onely for ſuch as wipe their noſes on their ſleeues; which the chapmen themſelues ſtop muſtard-pots withall, howſoeuer the ſimple, religious, pious, honeſt Buier, holds them as they coſt him, (deare.) And thus hauing likewiſe brought the Popes Holineſſe to this yeare of Iubiley, (a true Iubiley to him, who neuer till now could be peaceably poſſeſſed of *Rome*) our Author leaues him, and ſhuts vp this graue, learned, and neceſſarie Digreſſion, with a worthie, iuſt, and Chriſtian complaint, in this concluſion following.

GVICCIAR. *By theſe foundations, and by theſe meanes, being raiſed to an earthly power, caſting off by litle and litle, the remembrance of*

of the ſoules health, and the lawes of God, and bending all her thoughts to worldly greatneſſe: No longer vſing the Spirituall power, but as an inſtrument and miniſter of the Temporall: Their cares and endeuours were now no longer a ſanctitie of life, no longer a propagation of Religion, no longer a zeale and charity towards their neighbour: but armies, but warre againſt Chriſtians, managing their ſacrifices with bloudie hands and thoughts, and augmenting of treaſure: New lawes, new trickes, new ſleights, to get money on euery ſide: To vſe the ſpirituall armes without reſpect for this onely end: To prophane ſacred things without ſhame, for this onely purpoſe. The great wealth lauiſhly beſtowed vpon them and their whole Court, was accompanied with pride, luxury, diſhoneſty, luſt, and abhominable pleaſures. No care of their ſucceſſours, no thought of the perpetuall dignitie of the Papacy. But in ſteade thereof, an ambitious and peſtiferous deſire to exalt their children, nephews and kinred, not onely to exceſſiue riches, but to Principalities and Kingdomes. No longer conferring dignities and preferments vpon men of deſert and virtue, but ſelling them alwaies as it were to the moſt giuer, or caſting them away vpon perſons apt for ambition, for luſt, and for ſhamefull pleaſures. By which acts of theirs, the Papall reuerence being vtterly decaied in the hearts of men, and yet notwithſtanding their power being ſtill ſupported by the effectuall and powerfull maieſtie of Religion, and aided much by the meanes they haue to gratifie great Princes, and thoſe great perſonages which are about them, by preferments and other Eccleſiaſticall grants; whereby knowing themſelues to be in great reſpect among men, and that who ſo takes armes againſt them purchaſeth much infamie, and oftentimes the oppoſition of other Princes, with ſmall gaine whatſoeuer be the euent: and that if they conquer, they vſe the victorie as they liſt; and if they be conquered, they haue what conditions they will: Ambition pricking them forward, to take from their neighbours both priuate eſtates and Principalities, they haue bene very often and of long time, the inſtruments to ſtirre vp warre and new combuſtions in Italy. But to returne to my former purpoſe, from whence my iuſt ſorrow, and the publicke loſſe haue tranſported me, more farre then becomes the rules of Hiſtory, &c.

Thus

THus farre *Guicciardine*: and where he leaues, take we vp our complaint: and if Proteſtant Princes haue vſed that power which they haue immediatly from God, to reforme theſe abuſes, to redreſſe our wrongs, and to vindicate their right out of the hands of this Vſurper, who can iuſtly chalenge them? For ſeeing the Church of *Rome* hath incroached and intruded yeare by yeare, by little and little vpon this Free-hold and Prerogatiue of Princes, as the yeare it ſelfe doth winne certaine minutes and ſeconds, which in long tract of time breed a great alteration: they were forced to reforme the Churches in their owne ſeuerall States, as neare the truth and cuſtome of the Primitiue Church as they could, euen as *Rome* hath reduced the yeare ten daies nearer to the *Iulian* account: yet neither are theſe Reformations without ſome ſmall blemiſh, nor thoſe Reductions without ſome ſmall error, that both *Rome* and they might in all humilitie confeſſe, *All that is of man, to be vnperfect like himſelfe. Let God be true, and euery man a liar.*

OVr defection is therefore not from what ſhe was, but from that ſhe is; from the Authoritie ſhe at laſt vſurped, not from the Religion ſhe at firſt receiued: That, ſhe cannot in iuſtice eſtabliſh but in her owne proper dominions, where the Sword of *France* hath made her abſolute Princeſſe: This, God of his goodneſſe hath left free to the world, to be maintained by the Scepter of Chriſtian Princes, whoſe right of inheritance hath made them as abſolute as her ſelfe. So that our Conteſtation with her, and Proteſtation againſt her Papall tyrannie, is in the end like that in former times of the Barons of this Land (though not in the nature, becauſe theirs was againſt their naturall liege Lord and Soueraigne) who conteſted for their Franchiſements and Liberties which were granted them by the *Magna Charta*, and deriued from thoſe good old lawes of *Saint Edward the Confeſſor*. For this High Prieſt would take from vs that immunitie and freedome we had at firſt, of owing our obedience to none but God, and our King, and would bring vs vnder the yoke of his

forraine Iuriſdiction, which in the good old world of the Primitiue Church was not ſo, and whereof we are freed by our *Great Charter of the Goſpell; Giuen vs by the Father, Penned by the holy Spirit, Sealed by his deare Sonne, and witneſſed by the death of many thouſands of Martyrs.*

VVHy then ſhould the Papiſt inferre (I call him not Catholick, for to be a good Catholick is to be a good Chriſtian, but to be a Papiſt is to be a Romiſh Statiſt, a diſciple of the Ieſuite, not of Ieſus:) why ſhould he vrge (I ſay) that we renounce our Religion to God, by quitting our obedience to the Pope, vvhen wee ſee no ſuch correlation betweene them? Nay we plainly diſcouer a manifeſt *Antitheſis* and oppoſition of the Precept of the one, to the Practiſe of the other. Surely, let them ſay what they can; to be a Catholick and to be a Proteſtant, are not two ſeueral Religions in the root: both are Chriſtians, both build their faith and profeſſion vpon Chriſt. He is the Rocke whereupon they ſtand: he is the Truth, vvherein they agree; other truth then in him there is none. But many falſhoods there are, as thoſe of the Turke and Perſian, who differ much in diſputable points, yet are profeſſors of one and the ſame prophane *Mahometan Religion.* The Turk holds himſelfe the onely *Muſſull man*, i. true beleeuer; and the Perſian to be an hereticke, and in a damnable way: So thinkes the Papiſt of the Proteſtant, but, *id populus curat ſcilicet.* As for vs, we are not ſo vncharitable to condemne all them of the Catholick Religion, becauſe they differ in diſputable points from vs; nor ſo ignorant in our owne, as not to be alwaies able and readie to iuſtifie it for the ſame which was planted by Chriſt, taught in his word, confirmed with miracles, and profeſſed in the Primitiue Church. Now whatſoeuer concerneth Religion, belongeth either to God or to *Cæſar*: The matter and foundation (which is the truth) to God, who hath the Miniſters of his word to deliuer it: the manner and forme of exerciſing it (which is the gouernment) to the King, who hath thoſe Miniſters of the word, the Miniſters of his power, to put it in execu-

execution. Of this neither ought the Papiſt to robbe him, nor the Anabaptiſt to denie him. *Giue vnto Cæſar what belongeth to Cæſar, and giue vnto God what belongeth to God.* God ſpake theſe vvords and ſaid, *I am the Lord thy God, &c.* Here is the matter of Religion, *By God. All that the Lord commandeth by his ſeruant Moſes, that will we doe*: here is the obedience both of Prieſt and people, in the forme and manner: By the hand of *Moſes* and Chriſtian Princes, not by the mouth; not to teach them the truth, but to rule and gouerne them vnder the truth, and according to the vnchangeable and eternall lawes and ordinances thereof.

VVE haue not therefore quit our firſt Colours of Chriſtianitie, vve fight ſtill vnder *the Standard of the red Croſſe*, like true Chriſtians, vvhich will euer dare to diſplay it ſelfe for the maintenance of our Religion, and honour of our State: and I aſſure my ſelfe there are many thouſands amongſt vs (vvhom they preſume to be ſure their owne) vvho vvhen they ſhall ſee thoſe Colours flying in open field, will with vs flie in the face of the common enemie, though he bring *the Banner of the Croſſe keyes* before him. For howſoeuer they be nuzled and miſ-led by their corner catechizings in matter of beleefe and conſcience, yet if they be not wilfully blinde, they may perceiue with vs, that the Pope ſeekes not to rectifie the Church in our State for the truths ſake, but to re-gaine his vſurped authoritie in our Church for his profits ſake: vvould we but giue him this, he would giue vs leaue to beleeue what we liſt.

VVE march ſtill therefore with all good Catholicks vnder him that is and was their Leader and ours from the beginning. We may differ from them in apparelling, arraying, and embattelling our men: but our weapons are faith and works of piety, as theirs, and our end is all one: *We fight for life.* Here is the chiefe and maine point we ſtand on, We will haue a Prince of our owne, to go in and out before vs: We will haue a Lieutenant

of our owne, vnder Christ our Generall, in this our Christian warfare, to gouerne our campe, and keepe vs vnder military Discipline: we like not the Venetian manner, to haue a forraine hireling chiefe commander of our troupes: We feare no vsurpation as they do. *God and his Right* hath made our King what he is (next himselfe vpon earth) in these his dominions: he will be no more, he ought be no lesse. And therefore him do vve follow, vnder him will we serue, and vvith him will we fight, as in all his battels of Honour and State, so much more in an action of such consequence as this, *Of life or death euerlasting*. If the Pope and his Cardinals haue clipped the vvings of the holy Ghost, (vvho they say is President in all their Conclaues) that he cannot flie ouer the Alpes to fetch a fit man for that holy Sea, (for now of late they haue resolued, *That no Tramontano shall be Papeable*,) vvhy may not we likewise establish by law, that no cause of ours shall by a *Tramontano* be determinable? vvhy should not we clip his wings of Ambitiō that would still flutter ouer vs, & pare his nailes of Auarice that would still be scratching from vs; so high mountaines, a large Continent, and a maine Sea being betweene vs?

Seeing therefore the Sunne of Righteousnesse shineth vpon this land with the bright beames of his Gospell, which neither abrogateth vvholesome and ciuill lawes, nor abridgeth the power of Princes ordained by them: seeing he hath drawne the Romish foggie mists of superstition and error from our eies, and hath rained his sweet dewes of blessings vpon vs, in a religious King, a hope-full Prince, a peacefull Gouernment, a prudent Councell, and a powerfull State, able vvith his Sword to maintaine his right against vvhat enemie soeuer to his power or peace: and seeing that nothing is vvanting to make vs the happiest people on earth, but an vnanimous and vniforme concurrence in the Seruice of our God, and obedience of our Soueraigne: let vs all like true Israelites follow this our *Moses* out of that Egyptian bondage; let vs ioyne with the hearts of obedience and hands of assistance, in so iust a quarrell, for so good a Prince,

Prince, againſt ſo Imperious an vſurper. Let none of vs be any longer abuſed and enſnared, yea and gulled by theſe profeſſors of *Lyſanders* doctrine, who taught *that children muſt be deceiued with Chance-bones, and men with Oathes*: So theſe, with the old ſtampe of the diuells oracles at *Delphos*, of æquiuocall amphibologies, and mentall reſeruations, coſen and delude the world.

BVt *Rome* hath preſerued a forme of a Church, and kept the bookes of Gods law, and Records of our Religion, from the fury of Barbarians, and ruines of time, elſe how had we knowne either the law or the Goſpell? They ſay very well, we acknowledge it ſo, and we thanke God for it, that made her the meanes: But what then? Did not the old Iewes preſerue the old Teſtament for the Chriſtians? Elſe how had theſe knowne, but by thoſe venerable and ſacred Records of Antiquitie, all the Prophecies which are there regiſtred from the beginning of the world, of their true Meſſias, which haue ſince bene fulfilled in his coming? Were Chriſtians therefore ſo bound to the Iewes, or *Rome* to *Ieruſalem*, as not to forſake them when they had forſaken their fore-promiſed Redeemer? and not to ſeeke a new citie of Peace in Chriſts holy Goſpell? Nay rather *Rome* had a feareſull example by them, that ſuch old treaſurers of the Truth may become Bank-rupt of all Faith and Pietie: that ſhe may preach to others, and be her ſelfe a caſt-away. Had they any ſuch warrant, not to erre, not to fall? Ought not ſhe with more care to haue preſerued Religion in all Puritie, and profeſſed it in all Humilitie? *Be not high minded, but feare: For if God ſpared not the naturall Branches, take heed leaſt he alſo ſpare not thee. Behold therefore the bountifulneſſe and ſeueritie of God: Towards them that are fallen, ſeueritie: but towards thee, bountifulneſſe, if thou continue in his bountifulneſſe: otherwiſe thou ſhalt alſo be cut off.* A memorable caueat and fearefull threat, from that Diuine, and Diuining Spirit of the bleſſed Apoſtle, euen to this verie *Rome* with which we haue now our conteſtation. For ſuch is our caſe

with her, as was hers with the Iewes: we haue forſaken her, becauſe ſhe hath forſaken her firſt Faith. The faithfull citie is become an harlot. Let her therefore no more vpbraide vs with her three Conuerſions of this our Land, we can more iuſtly chalenge her of thirtie ſubuerſions ſhe hath attempted vpon it. For, to attacke vpon the life and perſon of a Prince, to giue foment to treaſons, and encouragement to Traitors, yea and reward alſo; what is this but to ſeeke the ſubuerſion of the whole State? As for the laſt Fire-worke, all the powers of hell were combined in the conſpiracy, and but hell it ſelfe can afford it a fit name, as but Heauen alone could preuent the danger. A Frier firſt inuenter of ſuch helliſh and ſulphurious powder, and a Prieſt the lateſt practiſer to put it to the vtmoſt proofe: What worke call ye this, ye workers of iniquitie, that ſets a ſtigmaticall brand, and an indelible ſtaine vpon your order for euer?

BVt they ſay, *He that is not in the Boſome of the Church, is in the bowels of perdition: He that is not ſaued in the Arke, periſheth in the waters: He hath not God for his Father, that hath not the Church for his Mother: Without the Church there is no ſaluation.* So ſay we: and that there is no damnation, diſinheriting, drowning, or deſtruction, to them that are in this boſome of ſafetie, ſhip of aſſurance, family of the faithfull, and ſocietie of the elect. But theſe propoſitions, howſoeuer they be ſpoken of the viſible Church by the ancient Fathers, yet moſt ſure it is, that they meant not to tie thē to the Church of *Rome*. For *S. Cyprian* vſed one of thoſe *Maximes* profeſſedly againſt *Stephen* the then *Pope* of *Rome*. And the Councell of *Baſil* proued the *Pope* (who would needs be aboue the Councels) to be a Schiſmaticke and rent from the Church, becauſe he ought to be ſubiect to the Church, *Quanto matre inferior eſt filius*. Could they but perſwade vs, that theſe *Maximes* of the ancient Fathers were meant of the Church of *Rome* onely, and neceſſarily tied thereunto; we would come flocking thither in ſuch full troupes, as they neuer had the like Iubiley there; and would all be humble ſuitors to his Holi-

Holineſſe, that the *Porta-Santa* might not be ſhut vp, ſo long as fiue and twenty yeares together, we would haue a continuall and perpetuall Iubiley in *Rome*: wherein we would make no doubt to preuaile, hauing ſo good pleaders in our behalfe, as that whole Court and Citie, who would be glad to pay well for the purchaſe, and yet be ſure to get well by the bargaine. But this they ſhall neuer be able to perſwade, that all that are vnder the Popes protection and *Benedicite* are ſafe, as vnder the ſeuen-fold ſhield of *Aiax*, from all thoſe perils which befall him who is fallen from the Church: nor they that are vnder his maledi-ction and curſe, are liable to all thoſe ſpirituall dangers, from which a Child of the true Church is free. Wherefore, while the Church of *Rome* appropriates to her ſelfe whatſoeuer is ſaid of the Church Catholick, either in the Scriptures or Fathers, ſhe doth but imitate the frantick Greeke, who when he ſaw any ſhips arriue in the Port of *Athens*, ſuppoſed them all his owne, and (without any warrant from the Cuſtome-houſe) would offer to make ſeazure of all the wares. So ſhe without any warrant of the *Dogana-Santa* of Gods word, or cuſtome of the Primitiue Church, will ſeaze vpon this rich and heauenly commoditie, and others muſt haue it but at ſecond hand: She will haue the fee ſimple of the Inheritance, and other Churches muſt hold of her by Copie, and in Baſe ſeruice. Now what is this but to tie Chriſts Church to a particular place and people? And what is that but meere Donatiſme, which admitted no Church in thoſe times but that of *Aphrica*? Is it not Catholick and vniuer-ſall both in place, and profeſſion? Hath not Chriſt his Church in *Conſtantinople*, *Cairo*, *Rome*, and *Geneua*? in *Europe*, *Affrick*, *Aſia*, *America*, and places yet vnknowne? Or hath God made all the world, but this little Angle of *Europe*, (and by their reckoning) not a moitie of that neither, for nought but perdition? *Nimis altum ſapiunt*. This is to preſſe into the *Sanctum Sanctorum* of Gods ſecret counſailes, where none but the high Prieſt of our ſoules may enter: This is to dare looke God in the face, which Moſes himſelfe nor could nor durſt aduenture. Let them looke lower

where

where they are, leſt they fall lower then they are. It is onely knowne to him who are his. His mercy is ouer all his workes, by this he will be glorified as well as by his iudgments, euen in places farre remote, where the ſound of the Goſpell hath not yet bene heard. Let them not therefore ſhut Charity out of Heauen, though in this iron-age of the world ſhe be almoſt quite baniſhed the earth already. Let the poore Fugitiue haue that place of refuge.

VVHerefore let not *Rome* lay claime to the whole inheritance, who had iuſt title but to an elder daughters part, which ſhe may alſo forfeit by breaking couenants. For I am perſwaded that what the ancient Fathers gaue peculiarly to her, when ſhe ſhined more gloriouſly then her yonger ſiſters in the beauty of pure Religion & white Robes of godly conuerſation, if they were now liuing, they would againe take from her, vpon this plaine diſcouery of her defection and deformity. It is reported, that *Angelo* the famous Artizan of *Italy*, drawing the pictures of *S. Peter* and *S. Paule*, for a Cardinall, a good friend and benefactor of his, pourtraied them with very red and high coloured faces; whereas neither the Scripture, nor any Eccleſiaſticall hiſtory, nor any originall Tablet deſcribeth them by ſuch complexions: being asked the reaſon, Becauſe (quoth he) if they were now liuing, they could not but bluſh at the pompe of you Cardinals, the pride of this Court, and the abuſes of this Church in generall.

AS therefore they cannot proue vs out of the Church, no more can they ſhew vs fallen from her vnity. From theirs we profeſſe a diuiſion, and are now as heretofore readie to iuſtifie our parting. But Schiſme or diuiſion in our owne Church we haue none: we liue vnder the obedience thereof in all awfullneſſe, with a more willing and leſſe forced ſubiection then they: For what ſhe commandeth we readily obey, and were it but a matter indifferent before the commandement, we now hold it

a

a matter of conſcience: becauſe we acknowledge ſhe hath this power ouer her owne children, by Gods holy ordinance, which bindes vs in this ſtrong Tie of obedience, by the vertue of his word. We likewiſe reuerence the Order of Prieſthood, that hath the ordination from her, and acknowledge the power & vertue thereof: we confeſſe to haue our Initiation into Chriſtianitie, & to be made the members of Chriſt by Baptiſme from the Prieſt: from him to haue our incorporation into Chriſt aſſured vnto vs by the bleſſed Sacrament of the Euchariſt, or of the Altar, call it whether you will, (for the one is but an Appellation from the Action, the other from the Place where it is ſanctified.) From him we haue our Reconciliation to our Mother the Church, after our fall, by confeſſing our ſinnes vnto him, and being abſolued by him: knowing that if our confeſſion be true, our contrition heartie, and repentance vnfained; he hath power by Gods ordinance to reſtore vs to the ſtate of Grace, and to receiue vs into the boſome of the Church, otherwiſe not: For his Abſolution is not abſolute, it is but *ex Hypotheſi*. Nay we farther confeſſe, that we cannot haue the participation of any of theſe graces & bleſſings, but by his Miniſterie onely; for this is Gods holy ordinance in his Church, whereof we profeſſe & maintaine ours to be a principall member. So that we haue not caſt off the ſweete yoke of Chriſtian gouernmét, nor are we thoſe Libertines they would faine make vs; for whatſoeuer our Church enioyneth, that will we, & muſt we do. If ſhe commaund vs to an Anniuerſarie & ſtationarie confeſſion of our ſins to the Prieſt, vve vvill obey: for we ought to go to him in caſe of doubt for inſtruction, & in caſe of conſcience for comfort; and ſo we do: We are not ſuch enemies to Auricular confeſſion, as they take vs: but it is true, the Cubicular confeſſion which their Prieſts vſe here among vs, we do not allow, nor do I thinke the married Catholicks in *Italy* would euer admit it. If ſhe commaund vs to adorne our Churches with beautifull Tablets & Apparaments, to decke our Prieſts with ſeemly Copes and Veſtiments, to grace our Seruice with Muſicke of voice, Organs, & other Inſtruments;

and to burne Frankinſence and other ſweet odours in our Temples, (ſo it be not to driue away ill Spirits and Hobgoblins) all this will we do, as well and as vvillingly as they. For all theſe do ſtirre vp the ſpirits and powers of mans ſoule to a more liuely offering vp of his liuing ſacrifice of prayer, praiſe and thankesgiuing to God. Theſe their Church enioyned, and many things more, as in themſelues (*Adiaphora*) vpon very good reaſon, and to a moſt godly vſe, till the abuſe by corrupt vſage grew to hurt the Church more, then the vſe at firſt did it good: and therefore may be aboliſhed, as all other conſtitutions of like nature in that Church may be, and haue bene euen by *Rome* her ſelfe. As for their praying to Saints, worſhipping of Images, and other Idolatries, our Church hath cancelled thoſe Canons: for we Proteſtants haue not our *Deos maiores, minores*, and *Medioxumos*, our Demi-gods, and gods of a higher ſtraine and larger ſize, as the Heathens had. Our God is not like *Baal*, that muſt be wakened with loud crying, nor like the gods of earth vpon earth, that muſt be ſued vnto by mediation. His Court is alwaies where himſelfe is, euery where: vve need no Poſtillions to ſend to him, nor Fauorites to ſpeake for vs. VVe know not vvhether *S. Peter* can heare our Catholicks here in *England* and them in *Italie* all at once; no more then when he was at *Alexandria* he could heare or ſee them in *Rome*. And of their other punie and paper-Saints, *S. Rocke*, and *S. Stocke*, and ſuch like, we doubt much more. Thoſe ſilly ſoules therefore and poore Chriſtians that preferre their ſuites by ſuch Solliciters, were in poore caſe, if they could not enter the Preſence but by their meanes: but this King of Kings is a ſearcher of the heart, and finding (that) ſincerely affected to him, doth no doubt accept them. This is our charitable conſtruction of them; and let this be their beſt comfort, till God who hath touched their hearts with the heate of Chriſtian zeale, enlighten them alſo with vnderſtanding.

AS for the Schiſme and Rent among our ſelues, vvherewith they vpbraid vs, it is not in principles of Faith, nor their concluſions,

cluſions: it is onely in matter of Church-policie: it is not growne to a Partie, it hath no Head, as theirs haue had when there were three Popes, and ſo three Heads at once. It is but of ſuch as are fallen from one extreame to another: from the Tyrannie of Papiſme to the Anarchie of Anabaptiſme, or to the Laocraſie of *Iohn a-Knoxe* or *Iohn a-Stile*. *A thing which is naturall in the reuolution of Ciuill States, and ſo likewiſe of Eccleſiaſticall.* But our Church neither alloweth their Opinion, nor ſuffereth their Practiſe. They are ſequeſtred and vnder cenſure, and liable to what the Canons of our Church layeth vpon them, which in matter of faith or obedience to gouernment, ought to binde the conſcience of all that are vnder her ſubiection: and therefore *Maius peccatum habent*. For all Churches Conſtitutions agreeable to Gods word, are ſacred and inuiolable vnder the gouernment where they are eſtabliſhed, vntill they be abrogated by the ſame Authoritie: But Chriſtians in other States are no way bound vnto them: nor we to thoſe of the Romane Church, more then they to ours. Might we but agree in the principles of Faith, and their concluſions, this difference of Gouernment might well be permitted, without any rent in Chriſtian Religion, it would onely hinder the Rents of the Popes Checquer. In many of which Principles though they and we differ much, and wherein both their ſide and ours haue bin too curious and buſie; yet ſeeing the difference in moſt of them is rather *De modo eſſendi* then *de Eſſe rei*, (how it is ſo, then not to be ſo at all,) I ſee not at all why any of them ſhould ſo cenſure vs, or we them, if there were as much true charitie as pretended zeale amongſt vs.

NOw concerning theſe Diſputable points of Religion, I would to God they and we had trauelled leſſe therein: In ſome things it is ſuperfluous to know much, in ſome things dangerous to ſearch ouer-farre. When one offered the Philoſopher to teach him the Art of Memory: I had rather (quoth he) thou wouldſt teach me the Art of Forgetfulneſſe: So in many of theſe caſes, a ſimple ignorance is better then a curious knowledge: and in

ſuch a ſence as this we agree with them, that Ignorance is the mother of Deuotion. For that Apple of the Tree of Knowledge is a dangerous fruite to taſte, it hath a ſweet reliſh but a ſowre digeſtion; it pleaſeth the pallate, but it breedeth corrupt bloud. Our firſt parents but taſted thereof, and all their childrens teeth were ſet on edge: it is a windy fruite, it puffeth vp: and this ſwelling Impoſtume bred in the braine, falleth like a Catarre vpon the heart, where it quencheth the natiue heate of true Zeale, and drieth the Radicall humour of ſpirituall Grace. Two Doctors of Phyſicke ſate at table together, and a third man in their companie, who had no learning at all in their Art, but a better ſtomack then both they to his meate. The one of theſe was a Galeniſt, the other a Paracelſian. In the midſt of the meale they fall in argument: The Galeniſt diſcourſeth of the Retentiue facultie in the ſtomack, how the meate is there depreſſed for a time, and made fit for digeſtion; how thence a milkie iuyce is ſucked by the *Meſaraicæ venæ*, which is forthwith conueyed to the Liuer the workhouſe of bloud; thence to the Heart, the ſtore-houſe of ſpirit; and ſo theſe two (the Liuer and the Heart) like two carefull Pourueyers, ſend of their prouiſions by the Veines and Arteries (as by two common Roade waies) into euery part of the litle common-wealth of mans body. The Paracelſian, a profeſſor and practiſer quite contrary to the other, as well in his Θεραπευτικῆ, as in his Διαιτητικῆ; in his order of Diet, as in his manner of Cure, oppoſeth himſelfe tooth and naile againſt all theſe aſſertions: partly out of opinion that the right was on his ſide, but more, out of a contentious humour and ſplene which he bore to the others profeſſion. They fall from argument to railing, ſo to chafing, and at laſt to bitter warre and deadly defiance: whereby, the meale they then made was hindred in the digeſtion, Choler increaſed in the one, Melancholy in the other, and the bloud inflamed in both: ſo as they were both taken away (without ſaying Grace) deſperately ſicke; the Galeniſt of a ſhaking Agew, and the Paracelſian of a Dead Palſey. But the third man that ſate by all this while, and vnderſtood not the cauſe, though he ſaw

the

the quarrell, he would not therefore meddle betweene them, but fell heartily to his meate, while they fell hard by the eares; roſe, and gaue God thanks, and with the ſtrength of that meals meate, went on with good ſpeed to labour out his daies worke in his vocation, vntill the euening, when with his fellow labourers he receiued his daies wages. *Thus is it with the great Rabbins in Religion, and the ſimple, honeſt, ignorant Chriſtian.* Let vs therefore ſtriue to do more, and ſtudie to know leſſe: Let vs fall to prayer and to practiſe, and leaue the pen and the preſſe. For it is a preſumption to thinke we can pearce the marble hardneſſe of Gods ſecrets with the leaden Screw of our dull vnderſtanding, or ſound the bottomleſſe depth of his Diuine Myſteries with the Plommet of our ſhort-lined, and ſhort-liued reaſon. He was a good Philoſopher that profeſſed no more knowledge but this; *Hoc ſcio, quòd nihil ſcio.* So may he be a good Chriſtian, who letting paſſe all tranſcendent and ſwelling knowledge, glories only in this; to know Chriſt crucified: reſolues onely in this, to liue alwaies to him that died once for all: and deſires onely this, the fruition of a better life, by the merit of that precious death. Here is the Faith, Hope, and Charity of a Chriſtian, which three are all, in him that is all in all, in the worke of our ſaluation.

IT is therefore vnneceſſary and vnprofitable to ſtrain our wits, and beate our braines as they do, about many of their ſuperfluous and friuolous controuerſies. That ſacred veſſell of the pureſt wine, wherewith our ſoules are comforted to eternall life, the bleſſed Virgin *S. Mary*, what auaileth it them (when they all know, ſhe was a naturall daughter of *Adam*) to ſearch and diſpute whether ſhe were borne in originall ſinne, or without? whereupon their Seraphicall Doctors haue written ſo much, to amuſe the readers, and abuſe the time, which they ſhould rather ſpend in the meditation of Gods Mercy with reioycing, or of his Iuſtice with trembling. Let them reade the Scriptures, *which are able to inſtruct and correct, that the child of God may be perfect*. For here they may vnderſtand all is fit

for them to know, and may finde ſome thing not fit they ſhould vnderſtand. *Scriptura omnibus acceßibilis*, there is thy liberty, and the doore open to thee; enter boldly, and gather of the fruite of this garden of *Eden*, from theſe lower boughes; *Paucis penetrabilis*, there is thy reſtraint, & the braſen gates barred vpon thee: beware thou preſſe not into this priuie Cloſet, nor pearch ſo high as this vpmoſt fruit, leſt a worſe thing befall vnto thee. What is needfull for faith and good life to ſaluation, is there ſo plainely laied open, as euen the ſimpleſt may vnderſtand: Other abſtruſe ſecrets and hidden myſteries there be, ſo cloſely lockt vp, as the wiſeſt themſelues cannot attaine, may not attempt. So that, as the world made for vs by God, is the Mirrour of his power and prouidence: So this word left vs by him, is the onely true glaſſe, vvherein we behold his vnſpeakable mercy, and vnſearchable wiſedome.

MAny other ſuch vſeleſſe queſtions as that former, they trauerſe among themſelues and canuas *Pro & Contra*, wherewith their tedious volumes are farced, which I will paſſe ouer, and touch onely a difference or two betweene them and the Proteſtants in more materiall points, as in that of *Iuſtification*. They will haue no Faith without good workes, no more will vve; nor we good workes without Faith, no more will they: If they tie good vvorkes to Faith, and we it to them, then hitherto we agree (*de facto*,) and the difference is no more (be it ſpoken without offence,) then to tie the hoſe to the doublet, or it to the hoſe. Had they ſtaied here (which they might well haue done,) the quarrell had bene at an end, or rather none begun. But vvhen they vvould needs proceed farther, to define (*de modo*) how vve are iuſtifed; and ſtanding ſo much vpon good vvorkes, vvould attribute their Iuſtification to the merit of their righteouſneſſe: vve were then forced to enter the liſts, and ſtand for the truth of *Iuſtification by Faith*; yet not aſcribing it to the merit of Faith, but to the obiect of Faith, namely the merit of Chriſts redemption. But let them and vs leaue to ſtriue any longer, except

cept it be in vvell doing. Let vs both ſtriue to haue both, ſo ſhall vve both be iuſtified: but if vve vvant either, let vs aſſure our ſelues vve haue neither. Let it ſuffice vs in this point, to know that vve are iuſtified before God through the onely mercie and grace of our Lord and Sauiour *Chriſt Ieſus*, vvho in the vvorke of our Redemption, Iuſtification, and Sanctification, is *Alpha* and *Omega*, the firſt cauſe and the laſt. *He is the Way, the Truth, and the Life*: The Way, vvhereby vve vvalke righteouſly: The Truth, vvherein vve beleeue ſtedfaſtly: The Life, vvhereon vve hope eternally. The vvarrant of our actions, the Buttreſſe of our Faith, the Anchor of our hope. Chriſt is the roote, Religion the tree; Faith, Hope and Charitie the branches; good workes are the fruite. Faith is the hand that layes hold on the cauſe: Charitie the foote that runs on in the courſe: Hope is the eye that lookes for the goale. Let vs then neither looke backe vvith *Lots* vvife from this citie of *Zoar*, this Caſtle of comfort; nor prie farther vvith theſe gazers aboue the Moone. Let no man aduenture to enter this deepe, (how, or vvhy the great God doth all things,) vvhich is not to be vvaded vvithout danger of drowning: Be no man ſo hardie to towre ſo high, vnder paine of preſumption, and arreſt of high treaſon to the higheſt Maieſtie, vvho vvill haue the *ſtri* of his ſecret counſailes and vvill beleeued and obeyed: but the *ſtori* thereof neither pried into nor examined.

COncerning that great myſtery of the *bleſſed Sacrament of Chriſts precious bodie and bloud*, wherewith the true receiuers are nouriſhed to eternall life: that ſacred Seale which he hath fixed to the hand-writing of his laſt Will and Teſtament, for performance of all Legacies promiſed vs in himſelf, and keeping of all couenants between him and vs: if it be a Myſtery, why do they & we labour to ſearch ſo farre? If we apply it to the ſame vſe as they, why do we quarrell ſo much? For, both they and we acknowledge, that when we receiue this bleſſed Sacrament worthily, and with that faith and probation of our ſelues which S. *Paul* enioynes to eue-

ry

ry Christian man in the performance of that action; we are there and at that time made truly & really participant of the very true and reall bodie of our Sauiour: (but by the mouth of faith, and after a ſpirituall maner.) Which two conditions, diuers of the moſt learned and moderate of that Church do freely acknowledge. And therefore ſo farre are we from holding this holy Sacrament to be a bare ſigne (wherewith they ſlander vs,) as we freely confeſſe, by the receiuing thereof worthily, to haue a true, liuely, powerfull, and effectuall coniunction with his precious bodie and bloud: whom, as well in our hearts, as in all our exterior actions we adore and worſhip. This is therefore the quarrell that vve vviſh may be taken vp betweene vs: vvhich vvee may vvell do, if vve vvill both confeſſe vvith reuerend S. *Auſten*, that Chriſt is there; but how? *Miſericordia quadam occulta*. He is there; that is his mercie and infinite power: We know not how; that is our weakneſſe and definite knowledge, till we ſhall ſee him in his glorie face to face: Then ſhall vvee no more ſee darkly as through a glaſſe.

NOw, as they haue tired themſelues, and troubled the pure ſtreames of Religions current, with the puddle of their owne braine, and froath of their Philoſophie, in ſuch diſputations of controuerſie as theſe, vvhereof vve neede not be inſtructed in ſome, and in the reſt vve ought not be inquiſitiue: but to reſt in the high myſteries of Gods ordinance, as in God himſelfe; (beleeue that he is a Trinitie of Perſons in an vnitie of Subſtance,) & diſpute not how it is, or doubt how it may be: So haue they cloyed and ſurcharged the conſciences of Chriſtians vvith vvhole cart loads of Canons, Iniunctions, and Conſtitutions, more to the hurt then good of the Church, and more to the fettering then bettering the ſoules of her deare children. Heretofore in our lawes of *England*, this was a ſtrong Conueyance; *I giue from mè and mine, to thee and thine*. And this a good Aſſurance, *In ſigne this is ſooth, I ſeale it with my Tooth*. And this a full Atteſtation, *Witneſſe Maude my wife*. Do the great Deeds & Indentures with all their

Ifs

Ifs and *Prouiſoes* make the Tenures more ſtrong now adaies? VVere not couenants then as vvell kept as now? vvere Titles ſo often tried? *So is it with the Canons and Conſtitutions of the Romiſh Church.* Their Canoniſts haue done as much hurt vvith their Decretals, Paragraffes, and Gloſſes, as their Schoolemen vvith their Queſtions, Diſtinctions, and Sophiſtrie. Good lawes neuer ſo much broken, as ſince ſo many bad made: neuer ſo key-colde in charitie, as ſince they grew ſo fire-hot in Diſputation.

BVt theſe Lawes and Ordinances of theirs are not binding, (as hath formerly bene ſaid) ſaue onely vnder their Iuriſdiction by vvhoſe Authoritie they are made: nor ought they be perpetuall, but onely ſo long as they quadrate vvith the conditions of the time; and that there redound leſſe hurt to the Church by the execution, then good by the aboliſhing thereof. I will giue onely one inſtance, as I haue done in the former. VVhat if the Church of *Rome* forbid Prieſts marriage, becauſe they may be more freed from vvorldly cares, and attend better to the Function vvhereto they are called? Shall this Law therefore ſtand perpetuall? vvhen by the corruption of mans nature, and iniquitie of theſe euill daies vvherein we liue, experience hath ſhewed vs too many horrible and abhominable facts in ſeuerall kindes of beaſtly and vnnaturall luſt, vvhich their Prieſts haue committed by being thus reſtrained? *Maculantur coitu illicito cum ipſorum grauiſsimo peccato: vbi cum propria vxore eſſet caſtitas. Vnde deberet Eccleſia facere ſicut bonus Medicus, vt ſi Medicina (experientia docente) plus officiat quàm proſit, eam tollat. Atque vtinam idem eſſet in omnibus Conſtitutionibus poſitiuis.* This is the Vote of a deuoted Catholicke of their owne. Beſides, vvhat if coniugall fellowſhip be forbidden Prieſts in *Italie*, and proſtitution of harlots permitted, for feare of ouer-charging that Land with people vvherewith it ſwarmeth alreadie? (as by their owne Prouerbe appeareth: *Troppo feſte, troppo tempeſte, troppo teſte.*)

Shall it therefore binde vs here in *England* vvhere they haue no power to commaund, nor vve like cauſe to be prohibited? For, we haue not the fourth part of people that they; nor they the moiety of good arable and paſture ground that we to maintaine them.

THere remaines yet one other thing, vvherein they of the Romane Church haue much preiudiced the ſinceritie of Chriſtian Religion, and that is, *Their Miracles*. For, as they haue bene too full of their Canonicall Conſtitutions, and too free of their Philoſophicall Concluſions, vvherewith their great Tomes and Volumes are loaden, like Cardinall *Campegius* Sumpters (vvith much traſh but litle or no Treaſure:) So haue they bene too lauiſh and vulgar in their hyperbolicall Miracles. A great Miracle ſure it is (if it were true) that they ſhould grow ſo thicke in the Popiſh drie Territories, and thriue ſo litle in this moiſt Climate of ours. For if we haue one in an age, it is but of a Straw, and yet not worth a ſtraw vvhen we haue it: A miracle but of fooliſh fancie and vnſetled imagination; ſuch a one as the Eye of conceit may daily ſee, if it looke vpon broken clouds; and the Eare of credulous fancie hourely heare, if it liſten to the ring of Bells. But let them no longer ſcandalize the Truth, nor thinke to coſen the vvorld vvith this counterfet kinde of coyne. Their Golden Legend of leaden lies is no more current. Men are no longer babes to take ſuch Counters for good paiment, or ſo ſimple to beleeue they ſee a man in the Moone. Let them if they be wiſe, ſtampe vs no moe miracles of this Mint, leaſt vvhile they endeuour to make men beleeue vvhat they ſee to be falſe, they be hardly truſted in vvhat is true. I dare vndertake there be more of theſe iuggling Miracles to be ſeene in the countries of Poperie, then there haue bene houres ſince Chriſt vvrought his firſt Miracle at *Cana* in *Galile*: as appeareth by the Crutches, Armes, Legges, and other Gambolls hung vp for ſhew thereof in all the Churches and Chappels of

of *Italie*; ſome of which haue bene ſo palpably forged, and ſo notoriouſly diſcouered, as all the Figge-leaues in *Italie* and *Spaine* are not ſufficient to couer their nakedneſſe; whereof the modeſter ſort are much aſhamed, confeſſing them to be *pia mendacia*, and the vviſer ſort laugh at them. Of this kinde of ſtuffe *Rome* it ſelfe is ſtuffed more then any place elſe; vvhere for my part I beleeued verie few, but onely this (which *Colonna* obſerued before out of *Guicciardine*,) That it is a Miracle God ſuffereth the pride and abhomination of that Sea ſo long vnpuniſhed. But of ſuch miracles as this the whole earth is full: All the workes of God, from the great Frame of the vvorld to the moſt ſmall and contemptible creatures, are *Miracles of his Power*: the ſtay and vpholding them in their firſt being, are *Miracles of his Prouidence*: the puniſhing of the wicked, and protecting his children (eſpecially thoſe he hath ſet to raigne ouer vs) are *Miracles of his Iuſtice*; vvhereof this our Land can yeeld the world two famous and vnmatchable Inſtances, in the late Queene of happie memorie, and our Soueraigne Lord the King that now is; by their ſeuerall, many and miraculous deliuerances, ſuch as *Rome* can ſhew none. Where *Theophylacts* Cuppe, and the Italian Figge hath made quicke diſpatch of diuers Popes in a ſhort time. VVhat ſhould I ſpeake of thoſe great *Miracles of Gods infinite Mercie?* The ſending of our Sauiour into the world, his Incarnation, Reſurrection and Aſcenſion; and all other workes of his, as Raiſing the dead, Curing the diſeaſed, Reſtoring the lame and blinde to their limmes and ſight, regiſtred to vs in the ſacred Chronicle of his holy word? Theſe indeed were truly Miracles, ſuch as all Chriſtians are bound to beleeue and confeſſe. As for thoſe of the Romane Church, there is neither Truth in the Fact, nor Benefit in the Beliefe. I will onely inſtance in one of my particular obſeruation, and ſo conclude. In a Towne of *Italie* where I abode foure moneths, was a poore Trades-man, who liued in the place full ſeuen yeares, and had neuer ſpoke, being generally taken to haue bene

deafe and dumbe from his birth. This man vndertooke a Pilgrimage to the *Ladie of Loretto*, the moſt famous and renowned Shrine in *Europe*, and comparable (if the Papiſts haue any) to that of *Mahomet in Mecha*. They ſay ſhe is as rich in Iewels and Treaſure, as famous in her Miracle-facultie: I ſpeake this but by relation, I had not the leiſure to go thither, but the good hap I had (though no great happineſſe) to ſee her Girdle at *Prato*, among many thouſand moe that came to ſee it, (as they yearely do vpon the ſeuenth of *September*:) a rich one I aſſure you it is, and ſuch as you haue none in Court. Saint *Thomas* had it of our Ladies gift, and carried it with him into *India*, and a Merchant got it from Saint *Thomas*, and brought it to *Prato*; where likewiſe is to be ſeene the Scull of Saint *Anne*, our Ladies mother; two ſingular great bleſſings to ſo little a Borough. Thus lies the Legend in the ſtorie, but it is no part of this our Miracle: no more is that which is reported of this glorious Shrine, namely that the Chappell wherein it ſtands, was firſt tranſported by Angels ouer the *Mediterranean Sea* into *Slauonia*; where, becauſe that ſlauiſh nation did not receiue it with due reuerence, or (which is more like) rewarded it not with due beneuolence, it was againe by the ſame Porters carried ſticke and ſtone ouer the *Venetian Golphe* into *Italie*, where now it workes wonders, and is not yet wearie. Among which this is not the leaſt, whereof I now relate. For this our *Mutolo* after ſome few weekes ſtay, many Oriſons of his owne, and much prayer and faſting of the Fraternitie, receiued (forſooth) the readie vſe of his tongue and hearing; and returned to the Towne whence he went while I was there, as perfect a prater of Italian as the beſt. A Miracle of no ſmall wonderment, and worthy Duke *Humfreys* obſeruation, who diſcouered a counterfeit *Ceco* (that made the people beleeue he was borne blinde, and had got his ſight at Saint *Albons Shrine*) becauſe he could readily tell him the colour of his gowne: So this Companion, though the ſtrings of his tongue had bene looſed, yet ſhould he not preſently haue

haue ſpoken ſo perfect language, without the greater miracle. Inquiring what Countreyman he was, I found him to be borne in the Marquiſate of *Ancona* hard by *Loretto*: I needed no more for my ſatisfaction in this Miracle. For it is a thing vſuall among them, to ſuborne ſuch counterfeits and *Spiritati* to worke vpon, for the more frequenting of their ſhrine, and better larding of their fatt.

AND thus Sir haue I anſwered your letter, though not your expectation, in matter of higher predicament then I ought to meddle with my vnwaſht hands: And therefore I ſubmit my ſelfe to better Iudgments, and commit you (for better information) to them are able to inſtruct vs both. You ſee, I beleeue not their Miracles: *I am not bound to their* Canons: *I trouble not my ſelfe with their* Controuerſies: *I yeeld the duty of a Child to none but my Mother the* Church of England: *I owe the Allegiance of a Subiect to none vnder God*, but my King. *Will you haue in one word the whole Summary of Religion?* Loue God aboue all, and thy neighbour as thy ſelfe: *There is the Law and the Prophets, and in them thy leſſon.* Chriſt came into the world to ſaue Sinners, *whereof thou art one*: *There is the Goſpell, and in it thy comfort. Of other things beſides theſe take thou heede my Sonne, for there is none end in making many bookes, and much reading is a wearineſſe of the fleſh: Let vs heare the end of all: Feare God, and keepe his Commandements, for this is the whole dutie of Man.*

Hoc fac & viues.

R.D.

(Not SL)
C 6197
19789 SL

MICROFILMS

REPRODUCED FROM THE COPY IN THE

HENRY E. HUNTINGTON LIBRARY

FOR REFERENCE ONLY. NOT FOR REPRODUCTION